This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

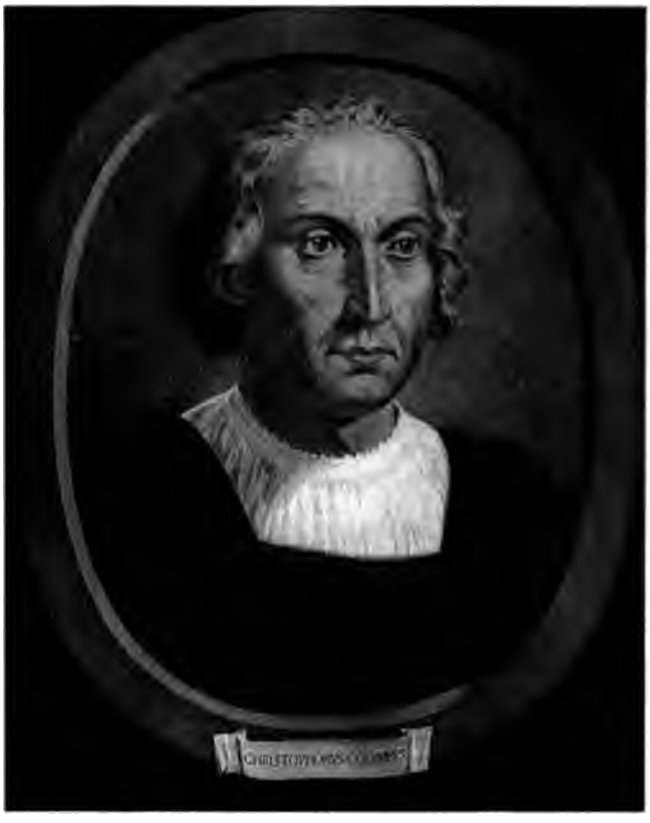
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE

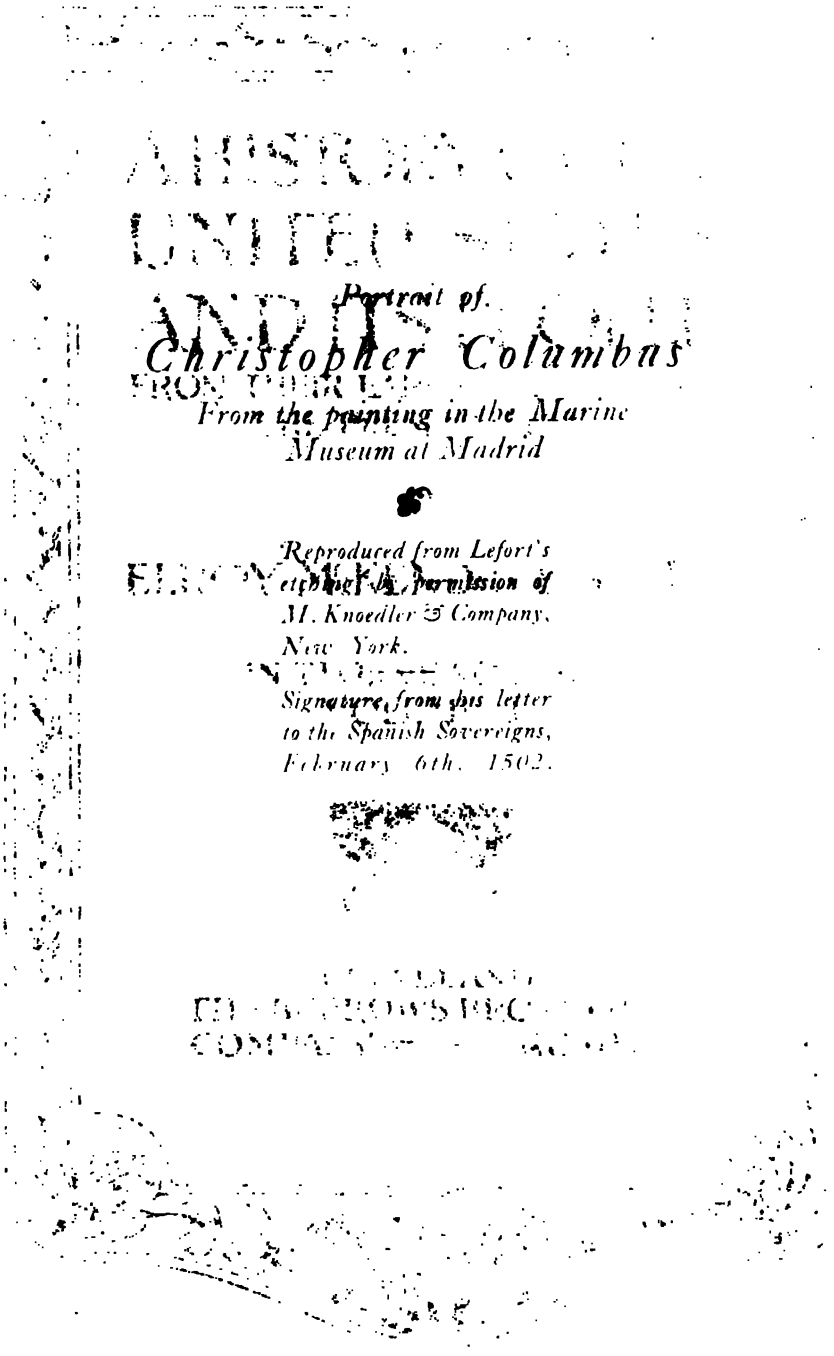
ELROY·M
AVERY

A History of the United States

Volume I



·S·
·S· A ·S·
X M Y
:Xpo FERENS·/



Portrait of

Christopher Columbus

From the painting in the Marine Museum at Madrid

Reproduced from Lefort's etching by permission of M. Knoedler & Company, New York.

Signature from his letter to the Spanish Sovereigns, February 6th, 1502.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE

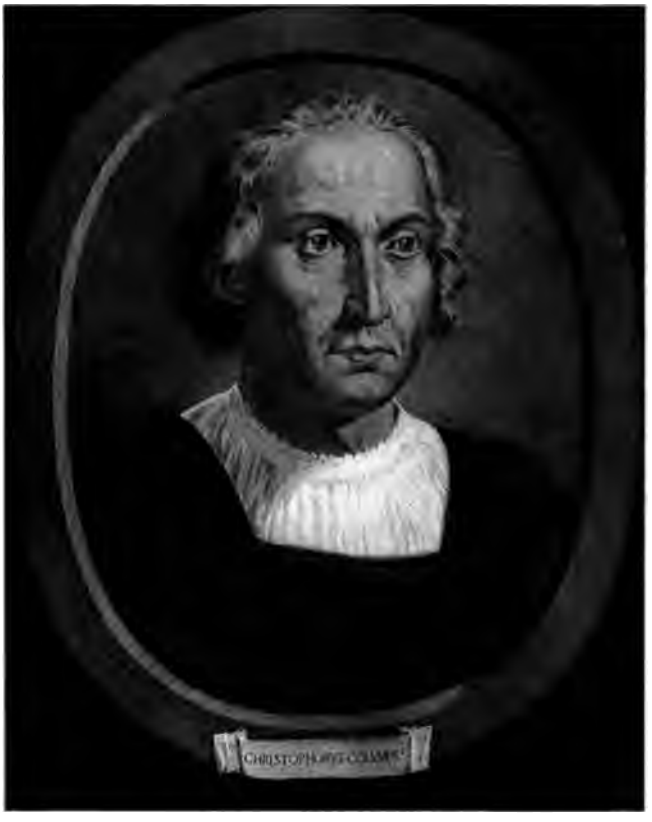
FROM THEIR EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

ELROY McKENDREE AVERY

IN TWELVE VOLUMES
VOLUME I

CLEVELAND
THE BURROWS BROTHERS
COMPANY MCMIV



·S·
·S· A ·S·
X M Y
: Xpo FERENS·/

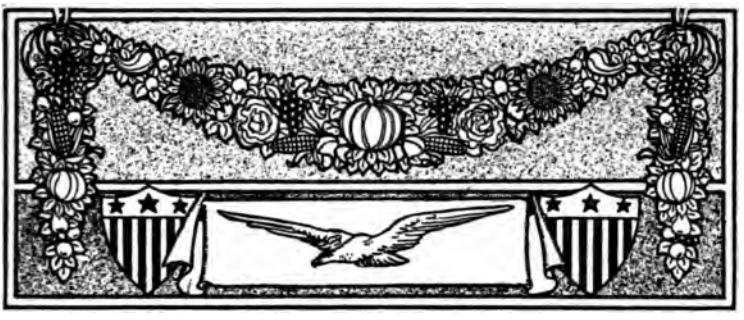
I DEDICATE THESE VOLUMES
TO MY FRIEND

CHARLES WILLIAM BURROWS

WHO, TWENTY YEARS AGO, ASKED ME TO JOIN HIM IN A WORK TO WHICH HE EVIDENTLY HAD BEEN CALLED MORE BY A SOLDIER'S DESIRE TO SERVE HIS COUNTRY THAN BY A PUBLISHER'S LONGING FOR PECUNIARY GAIN. FROM THAT DAY TO THIS, AN UNSELFISH PURPOSE HAS GUIDED HIS UNFALTERING STEPS AND MADE EACH SURMOUNTED OBSTACLE A BETTER POINT OF VIEW FOR A HIGHER IDEAL. THIS IS WHY THIS HISTORY APPEARS IN A GARB RICHER THAN THAT OF ANY THAT HAVE GONE BEFORE IT. I SHOULD BE HAPPY IF I COULD THINK THAT MY WORK HAS BEEN DONE AS WELL AS HIS.

ELROY M. AVERY

CLEVELAND, AUGUST, 1904



P R E F A C E

THIS volume is the beginning of an attempt to tell the story of the men and measures that have made the United States what it is. History is

> An orchard bearing several trees
> And fruits of several taste.

In this work, I have tried to meet the wants of men and women of general culture rather than those of professional historical students. Whatever may have been thought a generation ago, it is now admitted that such a design is entirely legitimate. For instance, Professor Marshall S. Brown says that "the work of familiarizing the general reader with the history of his own country and of inciting him to further study of that history is as useful and necessary as that of investigation for the benefit of a limited number of specialists." This general reader lacks leisure and, in some cases, inclination to dig among the original sources of historical knowledge, but he knows that he has rights to be respected and needs to be met. July, 1901

My purpose, thus frankly avowed, explains why I have made no effort to provide "a mere collection of data for contingent reference, no more intended to be read than a table of logarithms," and why I have avoided frequent citations of authorities in the form of foot-notes. The general reader finds such notes distracting and, therefore, prefers that they be omitted. If now and then he finds that his appetite grows by that on which it feeds, he will find suggestions for supple-

mentary reading in the bibliographical appendix to this and to each of the succeeding volumes.

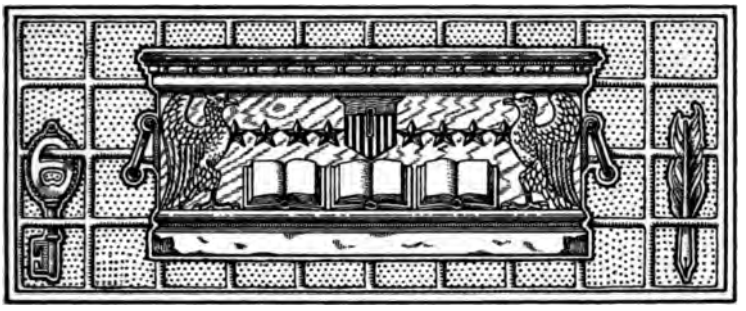
Moreover, I have tried to narrow the gulf between special and popular thinking, to avoid either running into "a cold intellectualism that seems to be heading straight for the poverty and decay that must always follow the separation of the brain from the heart," or feeding "a popular taste that is daily accommodating itself to an æsthetic and intellectual pabulum that would have seemed to our forefathers, at best, a sad waste of time."

The researches and discussions of the last quarter-century have thrown a new light on many parts of our early history. I venture to hope that some of this illumination may be reflected from these pages. To secure accuracy, I have not spared honest, earnest effort which in many cases sent me to the original sources. But I have tried not to attempt the impossible. An eminent historian says that no longer does any one try to write a complete history of America from the sources, and that each man now assumes that he may begin on the foundations laid by somebody else.

I hereby acknowledge my deep obligation to many helping friends. Common fairness demands that special mention should be made of the assistance given by Otis T. Mason in the preparation of the second chapter, by James Mooney in the preparation of the twenty-second chapter, by George Frederick Wright in the revision of the first chapter, and by Frederick W. Hodge, Adolph F. A. Bandelier, Frank H. Hodder, and George P. Winship in the revision of various parts of the work, especially those relating to the Spanish explorations, and by my wife from beginning to end.

ELROY M. AVERY

Cleveland, September, 1904



PUBLISHER'S STATEMENT

AS mentioned by Doctor Avery in his preface, footnotes have been almost entirely omitted from this history because the consensus of opinion is that the general reader finds the continuity of his thought seriously interrupted by their presence. The readability of the history is thereby diminished. If the nation is ever to have a literary monument containing a record of its birth, growth, and maturity, and of the causes and events which have led thereto, one to which it can point with pride, and which will serve by its existence to strengthen and perpetuate the great work begun and achieved by illustrious forefathers, it must be one that will be generally read.

But of even greater importance than *readability* must ever stand *trustworthiness.* To secure this, we have adopted many precautions for the elimination of the common errors—which are more numerous than the general reader can well imagine. We do not for a moment suppose that we have attained perfection, but we hope that our work will be recognized as a conscientious struggle for betterment. We offer it as a comprehensive, accurate, well-balanced, and readable history of the nation from the earliest times to the present day, with the belief that it will fill a place heretofore vacant.

To the many specialists who have read the manuscript critically, one for one purpose, another with a different object, we are indebted for valuable suggestions. That the deep fund of critical, historical knowledge possessed by Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits of the Lenox Library has

been so freely at our disposal, it would ill become us to forget. Many, many others to whom our projects were explained and our hopes and fears outlined, have so heartily and sympathetically lent coöperation that we regret our inability to name them separately.

Doctor Avery has made mention of the great assistance rendered by his wife, Mrs. Catherine H. T. Avery, the able editor of the *American Monthly Magazine*, the official organ of the Daughters of the American Revolution. She is entitled to grateful recognition in this place, also.

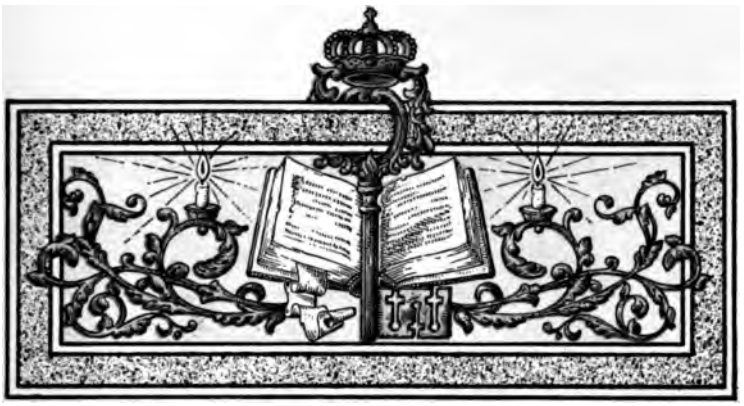
In its mechanical details, we have striven to make the book more useful than it could otherwise be by making it beautiful. In his chapter on the difference between the true and false grotesque, Ruskin tells us that "true art is decorated utility." To those who have painfully studied out the deductions to be made from maps in one color only, the utility of the extra printings that we have given will appeal forcibly. Their artistic value is self-evident.

A word regarding our style-book prepared for the guidance of compositors, proof-readers, etc. It has been made selective, and, in general terms, without going to extremes, tends towards simplicity. The under-use rather than the over-abuse of punctuation marks is an example.

And now, as our craft glides from the ways on which its keel was laid twenty years ago, we humbly dedicate it

To The United States and Its People

Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!
. . . . . .
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee!



CONTENTS

Introductory: Lists of Maps and Illustrations; Chronology.

I. The First Americans 1
II. The Neolithic Americans . . . 22
III. Maze and Myth 63
IV. The Northmen (about 1000 A.D.) . . 74
V. Early Geographical Knowledge . . 97
VI. Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) 108
VII. Columbus and His Great Idea (1446–92) 112
VIII. Columbus's First Voyage (1492) . . 134
IX. Diplomacy and Preparation (1493) . . 152
X. Columbus's Second Voyage (1493–96) . 162
XI. Da Gama (1498) and Cabot (1497) . . 179
XII. Columbus's Third Voyage (1498–1500) . 191
XIII. Voyages of the Cortereals (1500–02) . 208
XIV. Columbus's Fourth Voyage (1502–04) . 213
XV. Vespucius and "America" (1451–1507) . 226
XVI. Balboa (1513) and Magellan (1519–21) . 241
XVII. Cortes (1519), Ponce de Leon (1513), and Las Casas (1502–47) 252
XVIII. East Coast Exploration: Ayllon, Verrazano, and Gomez, (1521–26) . . 272
XIX. Spanish Explorations: Narvaez, De Vaca, De Soto, and Coronado, (1527–42) . 280
XX. Pioneers of New France: Cartier, Ribault, Laudonniere, and De Gourgues, (1534–68) 303
XXI. Westward Ho! Hawkins, Drake, Cavendish, Gilbert, and Ralegh (1565–1600) 322
XXII. The Indians of North America . . 338
Statistics Regarding Indians, etc. . . 359
Bibliographical Appendix . . . 369

NOTE.— A general index will be found in the latter part of the twelfth volume.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Christopher Columbus . . . *Frontispiece*

Portrait:

From the painting in the Marine Museum at Madrid. Over eighty portraits of Columbus are known, none painted either from life or even during the lifetime of the discoverer. This one was probably painted during the nineteenth century upon order from the ministry of marine. Doubtless, the old engraving known as the Capriolo served the artist to some extent as model. He has, however, made a noble representation, and even though it is a work of constructive imagination it is still the most generally satisfactory portrait of Columbus in existence. On De la Cosa's ox-hide map, facing page 208, will be found another portrait of the great discoverer.

Signature:

From the letter written by Columbus on February 6, 1502, from Granada to the Spanish sovereigns. The original is in the national archives at Madrid. This letter shows him to have been a consummate seaman, a masterly and scientific sailor, and an able pilot. More than sixty distinct pieces of Columbus's handwriting are in existence, and though he was an Italian by birth, they are all in Spanish. Thirty-three of these MSS. bear a signature. Fifteen bear his name and both of his peculiar monograms as reproduced in the present instance. A smaller number are signed with his marine title of admiral, *el Almirante*, and the large monogram. To this large seven-letter monogram, Columbus attached great importance, and provided that his heirs should forever employ its peculiar form. No certain explanation of the letters is known. A religious interpretation is, however, universal. The smaller monogram is probably produced by intertwining the *J* and *S* of *Jesus*. It always appears in the lower left-hand corner.

The Ouiatchouan Falls, Lake Saint John . . 2

Map of North America 3

Glacier and Iceberg 5

Glacial Striæ 6

Rock Waste at the Foot of a Glacier . . . 6

Map of the United States 7

Indicating the greatest extension of the continental ice-sheet. Prepared for this work by Professor George Frederick Wright.

Sectional View of the Trough of the Ohio River . 9

Map Showing the River Terraces of the Upper Ohio Valley 9
The glaciated area is untinted, while the terraces are shown by dots.

Map of the United States 11
Indicating the recession of the ice-front nearly to the Mohawk valley. Prepared for this work by Professor George Frederick Wright.

Bird's-eye View of the Niagara Gorge . . . 12

Section across Table Mountain, California . . 13

The Calaveras Skull 14
Now in Cambridge, Massachusetts, thinly coated with wax for preservation.

The Nampa Image 14
Actual size.

The Lansing (Kansas) Skull and Thigh-bone . 15
Reduced from original which was 18¼ inches long.

A Trenton (New Jersey) Paleolith . . . 15
Reduced one-half.

Map Showing the River Terraces of the Delaware Valley 16
The glaciated area is untinted: the terraces are shown by dots.

The Newcomerstown (Ohio) Paleolith . . . 17
Side and edge view, reduced to one-quarter of natural size.

Obsidian Spear-head from Lake Lahontan . . 18
Reduced one-half. From the *United States Geological Survey*, under Major J. W. Powell (Washington, 1885).

Lake-dwellings Restored 19
The picture is constructed from data furnished by recent researches in this field of archæology.

Arrow-head from Puzzle Lake, Florida . . 24
Actual height, two and one-eighth inches. Reproduced from paper by Clarence B. Moore in the *American Naturalist* for January, 1894.

Mound on Little Island, South Carolina . . 25
From Clarence B. Moore's *Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Coast of South Carolina* (1898).

Round-house of Lava-blocks 26

Map of the Pueblo Region 27
After the map accompanying Cosmos Mindeleff's *Aboriginal Remains in Verde Valley, Arizona*, in the thirteenth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology; with corrections and additions from latest data supplied by Frederick Webb Hodge, editor of the *American Anthropologist*.

Cliff-dwellings 28
From a photograph.

Open-front Cavate Lodges 29

A Communal Pueblo, Zuni 29
Section Showing the Evolution of the Flat Roof and Terrace 30
Plan of Walpi, a Hopi Pueblo in Arizona . . 31
From the eighth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology.
View of Walpi, Arizona 32
From the same.
Stone Grave, Jackson County, Illinois . . . 34
From the twelfth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology.
A Sepulchral Urn 34
From frontispiece to Clarence B. Moore's *Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Georgia Coast* (1897).
A Mound (reproduced from De Bry) . . . 35
A reduced facsimile from his *Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalem et Occidentalem*, published at Frankfort, 1590–1634. Probably a representation of a burial-mound incomplete within the historic period.
The Great Cahokia Mound, East Saint Louis, Illinois 36
View from the east. From an original photograph made in 1900.
The Serpent Mound, Adams County, Ohio . . 37
After W. H. Holmes's drawing, made on the spot in 1888, and published in the twelfth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology.
Section of an Ossuary Mound, Crawford County, Wisconsin 37
From the fifth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology.
Section of a Burial Mound, near Davenport, Iowa 38
From the same. The diagram on the right shows the relative positions of the skeletons.
Vertical and Horizontal Sections of a Burial Mound, East Dubuque, Illinois 38
From the same.
View and Section of the Grave Creek Mound, near Wheeling, West Virginia 40
From Squier and Davis's *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1848).
The Nelson Mound, Caldwell County, North Carolina, after Excavation 41
From the fifth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology.

Prehistoric Vase from Florida 43
Original is eight inches high. Reproduced from Clarence B. Moore's *Certain Aboriginal Remains of the Northwest Florida Coast*, part 2, page 205.
Map of Fort Ancient, Warren County, Ohio . 45
Map of the Ancient Works at Newark, Ohio . 47
Map Showing Some of the Ancient Works of the Scioto Valley, Ohio 48
Chipped Celt, from a Mound in the Kanawha Valley 53
Grooved Ax, from Brown County, Ohio . . 54
The Etowah Bust 54
Reduced one-half from the cut given by Cyrus Thomas in the twelfth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology.
Bottle, from a Tumulus at Saint George, Utah . 55
Reduced to one-sixth natural size.
Vase, from Davenport, Iowa 55
Reduced to one-ninth natural size.
Mug, from Tusayan, Arizona 55
Reduced to one-fifth natural size.
Bowl, from Tusayan, Arizona 55
Reduced to one-sixth natural size.
Charred Fabric, from a Mound in Ohio . . 56
An example of diagonal weaving.
Moccasin, from a Cave in Kentucky . . . 57
Fabric-marked Vase, from a Mound in North Carolina 58
The Sea of Darkness 68
From an original drawing by Harry Fenn.
Title-page of the Zeni Annals 69
Reduced one-half.
The Zeni Map 70
Reduced facsimile; the original measures 15½ x 12 inches.
Norse Ship Unearthed at Sandefjord . . . 74
Norse Ship Restored 75
The discovery at Sandefjord, some very imperfect representations carved on rocks and runic stones, and a design on the Bayeux tapestry, have formed the basis for the restoration.
Map of the North Atlantic Ocean . . . 77
A Saga Manuscript 79
From Reeves's *Finding of Wineland the Good.*
Map of Bjarni's Course, after Harrisse . . . 81
Ruins of the Church at Katortok 81

Landing of the Northmen 82
After a drawing by J. Steeple Davis.
Norse Boat Used as a Habitation . . . 83
Map of Cape Cod "Restored" 84
Eskimo Skin-boat 87
Norse Ruins in Greenland 90
Rafn's Map of Vinland 92
The Dighton Rock 93
A New Mexico Inscription Rock 94
The Newport Tower 94
The Chesterton Mill 95
Statue of Leif Ericson 95
Unveiled at Boston, October 29, 1887.
Homer's World 97
Ptolemy's World 98
These two maps have been constructed from the extant writings of the authors, with other data furnished by contemporaneous sources. They illustrate the notions concerning the earth and its surface generally entertained at those periods. The latter map shows also the position assigned to Sera by Marinus, to illustrate the difference of opinion between these two authorities concerning the earth's size.
Andreas Benincasa's Map of 1476 . . . 104
Reduced, with slight modifications, from the facsimile given in the atlas to Lelewel's *Géographie du Moyen Age* (Brussels, 1850).
The Atlantic Ocean 108
Marco Polo 108
After the original portrait, at Rome.
Prince Henry the Navigator 109
After a portrait in a contemporary manuscript chronicle, now in the national library at Paris — probably the only authentic one.
Map Illustrating Early Portuguese Discoveries . 110
Ship of the Fifteenth Century 113
An Attempt to Reconstruct the Alleged Toscanelli Map 117
Also showing the coast of Asia as it appears on the planisphere of 1457 and on Behaim's globe of 1492. Adapted from Professor Gustava Uzielli's compilation in his *La Vita e i Tempi di Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli*, published at Rome, in 1894, by the Reale Commissione Columbiana.
Map of the World by Henricus Martellus Germanus, about 1492 119
From the original manuscript in the British Museum. This is a so-called Portuguese map of the world of about 1492. From the inscription east of the Cape of Good Hope, and from its evident priority to the discoveries

made by Columbus and Da Gama its probable date is conjectured. An *adapted* facsimile of the original is in the Kohl collection in the department of state at Washington. On this account this map is prepared from photographs taken direct from the original copy in the British Museum.
It has been conjectured that Martellus was a German miniature-painter working at Rome during the latter part of the fifteenth century.
This map is erroneously described by many.

Behaim's Globe of 1492 . . . . 120, 121
Adapted from the facsimile given in Ghillany's *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim* (Nuremberg, 1853).

The Convent of La Rabida 124
The Franciscan convent of Santa Maria de Rabida stands on a hill near the town of Palos. It had fallen into decay, but was restored in 1855.

Map of Spain and Portugal 125

Columbus's Fleet 132

Map of the Spanish Coast between Huelva and Cadiz 135

Map of Columbus's Course, First Voyage . . 137

Columbus Sighting the Light 138
From an original drawing by Will H. Drake.

The Landing of Columbus 140
From the painting by Albert Bierstadt, in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington.

Map Showing Columbus's Course after his Landfall (with map of Watling Island in corner) . . 141
The true landfall of Columbus has been the subject of much investigation, and will always be a matter of great interest. The site was on one of the Bahamas, and evidently on an island of moderate size, though not one of the smallest. Each of some half a dozen different islands of the Bahamas has had the claim made in its behalf that it is the true site of the landfall. Alexander von Humboldt accorded the honor to Cat Island, and so did Washington Irving.
Captain G. V. Fox, U. S. N., assigned it to Atwood Cay (Samana). His paper, the most elaborate treatment of the subject yet made, forms part of the government report, yet it is now regarded as practically established that Watling Island is the true Guanahani, the San Salvador of Columbus.
The methods used in determining this, we indicate below :
First. The physical description given by Las Casas in the abridgment of Columbus's journal (the original is lost) is found to apply more perfectly to Watling than to any other island.
Second. After leaving the island and sailing by a devious but quite fully recorded course, Cuba was struck at a harbor whose location is definitely established by description. With a chart of the Bahamas and a knowledge of the currents, the backward route of Columbus may, by the aid of the journal, be laid out, many points being fixed with precision and others with the highest degree of probability. This method also indicates (in fact, in the judgment of most recent expert investigators it requires) the acceptance of Watling Island as the correct site of the landfall.

Third. Follow by the aid of the journal the course sailed from the Canaries to the Bahamas. This, while less certain, readily admits of the selection of Watling as the correct site of the landfall, although the method is unsatisfactory when used by itself. The ocean currents, the variations of the compass, the rude method of measuring time by an hour-glass, the lack of a log-line record (this last not having been invented until a later period), render any deductions made by this method alone extremely uncertain. At best, it can simply furnish corroborative evidence of the correctness of deductions made in other ways. This it does sufficiently well.

Columbus described the island as flat, with a large lake in the middle and with very green trees, and described islands seen on the course thence to Cuba in such terms as to leave no doubt in the minds of those who have most carefully and fully investigated the subject that Watling Island is the site of the landfall.

Other islands that have had advocates for their claims in this connection are Grand Turk Island, area about seven square miles; Atwood Cay, area eight square miles; Mariguana, area ninety-six square miles; Acklin Island, area over one hundred square miles; and Cat Island, area one hundred and sixty square miles. The area of Watling is about sixty square miles.

Referring to the common superstition that Friday is an unlucky day, it is interesting to note the place it occupies in the story of the discovery of the New World. Columbus sailed from Palos on Friday, August 3, 1492. He discovered land on Friday, October 12, 1492. He departed from Espanola (Haiti) to return to Spain on Friday, January 4, 1493, and arrived at Palos, after the most memorable voyage in the world's history, on Friday, March 15, 1493.

Map of the West Indies 143

Columbus Commemorative Medal, Spain, 1492–1892 148

This follows the Maura medal in its second design. The first design of the obverse, a figure kneeling before Columbus, was purposely altered. Ponce de Leon's *Columbus Gallery* gives half-tones in all states. It may be found in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

First Page of Columbus's Printed Letter to Santangel 149

A reduced facsimile from the unique Spanish folio; the original is in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

The Arms of Columbus 151

Alexander VI 153

From the Lenox copy of J. C. Heywood's *Documenta Selecta e Tabulario Secreto Vaticano quæ Romanorum Pontificum erga Americæ Populos Curam ac Studia tum ante tum paullo post Insulas a Christophoro Columbo Repertas Testantur Phototypia Descripta*, of which only twenty-five copies were printed at Rome, in 1893, for distribution to leading libraries. The inscription there given states: *Pinxit Bernardinus Pinturicchius in Ædibus Borgianis Palatii Vaticani anno 1494.*

First Page of the Bull of Demarcation of May 4, 1493 154

Reduced from a facsimile given in the work mentioned above.

Map Showing the Line of Demarcation . . 160
Map of Columbus's Courses, First and Second Voyages 163
Third Page of the Printed Scillacio . . . 165
Full-size facsimile from the copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).
Map of Haiti in Columbus's Time . . . 166
The courses of the voyages of Columbus about the island have been inserted.
Map of Columbus's Voyage in the West Indies, 1494 169
Vasco da Gama 179
After the original portrait, in the possession of the Count de Lavradio.
The Hunt-Lenox Copper Globe (Western Hemisphere) 180
After the original in the possession of the New York Public Library (Lenox Building). It is said to be the earliest post-Columbian globe extant.
Statue of John Cabot and his Son Sebastian . . 182
Modeled by John Cassidy, of Manchester, England, and exhibited in London, 1897.
Part of Sebastian Cabot's Map of 1544 . . 184
The entire map is a mappemonde. The original is in the national library at Paris; we adapt this from a full-size photo-copy thereof in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building). The inscription in the upper left-hand corner has been transposed from a quarter of the map not given here.
Harrisse's Map of John Cabot's First Voyage . 185
Cabot Centennial Postage-stamp, Newfoundland, 1497–1897 186
John Cabot 187
Sebastian Cabot 187
These two portraits follow the Cassidy statuary, mentioned above.
Cabot Memorial Tower, Bristol, England . . 189
The tower, designed by W. S. Gough, is 105 feet high, and occupies Brandon Hill, "the finest inter-urban hill in England." The corner-stone was laid June 24, 1897.
Map of Columbus's Courses, Third and Fourth Voyages 191
Map of the Gulf of Paria Region, Columbus's Third Voyage 193
Columbus at the Island of Margarita . . . 195
A reduced facsimile from Herrera's *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos* (Madrid, 1601).
Columbus in Chains 201
From Maréchal's painting.

Juan de la Cosa's Ox-hide Map of 1500 *facing* 208

We reproduce, reduced in size, the western half of this map containing the West Indies. The original now belonging to the Spanish government is in the Naval Museum at Madrid, but it was first discovered by Alexander von Humboldt in 1832 at Paris in the library of a friend, Baron Charles Athanase Walckenaer, himself an eminent scientist and geographer. It is the oldest known map of the New World. In 1853, it passed into the museum at Madrid from a Paris auction-room.

Juan de la Cosa was one of the most skilful navigators of his time. He made many voyages to the New World, and was finally killed there by Indians in 1509 on one of his cruises with Ojeda. That he was with Columbus on the voyage of discovery, as part owner and master of the "Santa Maria," the flag-ship, is the opinion of most investigators, including Harrisse and others. Some, however, think that this was a different La Cosa, and that Juan did not accompany Columbus until the next voyage in 1493. Several of his charts have been preserved, but this is by far the most important.

This reproduction is based upon a photograph taken for this work from the original at Madrid, and upon a colored lithographic copy of the map published at the same place, in 1892, by Messrs. Canovas, Vallejo, and Traynor. The lithograph in question is believed to be the only colored reproduction previously made, and is very faulty. For instance, on the lithograph many of the islands are shown white, while the black of the photograph shows that in the original they were colored red. The lithograph represents Haiti (Espanola) as a group of islands, while the photograph shows a well-defined coast-line.

Especial attention is called to the system of straight lines radiating from sixteen centers placed at equal distances from each other, and on the circumference of a circle at the center of which is the mariner's compass in the middle of the map.

The uncolored portions of the reproduction indicate holes (made by insects or otherwise) in the original map.

The map clearly shows the insularity of Cuba. The outlines of the island give an approximation to accuracy that is remarkable, for the map was made eight years before Ocampo's circumnavigation. Much has been made of these facts in connection with the claim for the authenticity of Vespucius's alleged "first voyage" in 1497.

Part of the Cantino Map of 1502 . . . 210

Greatly reduced from the facsimile given in Harrisse's *The Discovery of North America* (Paris and London, 1892); the original is in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Italy. The map embodies the results of explorations made in 1501, while a slip of parchment attached to the map shows corrections due to Vespucius's explorations of 1502. In that wise was the date of the map determined.

Map of the Central American Coast, Columbus's Fourth Voyage 215
Statue of Columbus at Santo Domingo . . . 222
Autograph of Vespucius 226

Title-page of the "Four Voyages" of Vespucius . 227
Reproduced from the New York Public Library (Lenox Building) copy of the facsimile issued by Quaritch in 1893.

Map of the Alleged First Voyage of Vespucius . 228

Americus Vespucius 233
From an old engraving.

Saint Dié in the Sixteenth Century . . . 235
After an original drawing of the time.

Note on the Waldseemueller Maps mentioned on page 236
Early in the present century, cartographers and Americanists were startled by the preliminary announcement of the discovery of two long-lost maps by Martin Waldseemueller, who, in a little tract printed several times in the year 1507, and entitled *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, had suggested the naming of America after Vespucius. In that tract, the author referred to his map of 1507, but although diligent search was made during many years, the map was not found.

In 1901, while searching for data to use in his work on the discoveries of the Northmen in America, Prof. Joseph Fischer, S. J., of Feldkirch, Austria, found a large composite volume of maps in the library of Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg at the castle of Wolfegg in Wurtemberg. This atlas, curiously enough, was originally the property of the famous sixteenth-century cosmographer, Johann Schoener. Two of its maps proved to be Waldseemueller's undated world-map of 1507, the first to contain the name "America," and an extraordinary *Carta Marina* with the date 1516, also by him. Each of these two large woodcut maps contains twelve sheets, and each section measures 45.5 by 62 centimeters. They are the only extant examples.

The first definite statement about the discovery was written by Prof. Fr. R. v. Wieser for *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, December, 1901. Several articles appeared in 1902, and, in 1903, the maps were published in photo-lithographic facsimile, in full size, and accompanied by a folio volume of critical apparatus, edited jointly by Fischer and Wieser.

Schoener's Globe of 1520 (Western Hemisphere) 237
Adapted from the facsimile given in Ghillany's *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim* (Nuremberg, 1853).

Mercator's Globe of 1541 (American Portion, Four Gores) 239
The original is in the royal library, Belgium; we follow *Sphère Terrestre et Sphère Céleste de Gérard Mercator* (Brussels, 1875).

Map of New Andalusia and Castilia del Oro . 243

Vasco Nunez de Balboa 244
After an engraving in Herrera.

Ferdinand Magellan 247
From the same.

The So-called Schoener Gore Map . . 248, 249
A reduced facsimile of the only known original, in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building). It has been asserted and denied that this is

Schoener's long-lost map of 1523. However that may be, it is probably the earliest known map showing by a line the track of the first circumnavigation of the globe, and as such is highly interesting.

The "Victoria" 251
A reduced facsimile of a picture in Henry Stevens's *Johann Schöner*.

Cannon of the Sixteenth Century 255

Map of the Country between the Gulf Coast and the Valley of Mexico 256

Montezuma 257
After a painting in the collection of his descendant, the Conde de Miravalle.

Plan of Tenochtitlan at the Time of the Conquest of Mexico by Cortes 258
Also showing a chart of the Gulf of Mexico. A reduced facsimile of a large folded plate in the Latin version of Cortes's second letter (Nuremberg, 1524); from the copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Map of the Valley of Mexico in 1519 . . . 259

Hernando Cortes 260
From an old engraving.

Title-page of Cortes's Second Letter (*Carta de Relacion*) 261
First edition (Seville, 1522). A reduced facsimile from the fine copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building). It is the earliest extant account in print of Cortes, and is very rare.

Bartolome de las Casas 266
From an old engraving.

Map of the Land of War 268
Shows the scene of Las Casas's activities in Central America

New York in 1524 and in 1904 277
From an original drawing by Harry Fenn.

Giovanni da Verrazano 278
From an old engraving.

The Carta Marina of 1548 281
Adapted from the Ptolemy (Italian edition) of that year.

Autograph of Narvaez 282

The Earliest Known Engraving of the Buffalo Appearing in a Printed Book 284
Reduced facsimile from Gomara's *Historia General de las Indias* (1554). However, as early as 1542, Rotz drew pictures of this animal on his maps. While Thevet's has previously been accepted as the earliest known engraving of the buffalo, his work appeared four years later than Gomara's, namely, at Antwerp in 1558.
We follow the copy of Gomara in the possession of the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Hernando de Soto 285
From an old engraving.

Title-page of the "Gentleman of Elvas" Relation . 286
Reduced facsimile of the original edition (Evora, 1557), one of the rarest books in the whole field of Americana. We follow one of the few extant copies in the possession of the New York Public Library (Lenox Building), which is made doubly interesting on account of its being from the famous Colbert library. The original is quite small, its size being 2¾ by 4¾ inches.

Map of De Soto's Route 287
Prepared for this work by James Mooney, of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology; it is the result of study of the original Spanish and Portuguese narratives in the light of personal knowledge of the geography and Indian nomenclature of the region.

A Palisaded Indian Village 291
A reduced facsimile of De Bry's plate, *Oppidum Pomeiooc.*

Map of Coronado's Route 296
This map was prepared in accordance with information furnished by Frederick Webb Hodge, editor of the *American Anthropologist*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., Frank Heywood Hodder, professor of history at the state university, Lawrence, Kansas, and George Parker Winship, librarian of the John Carter Brown library at Providence, Rhode Island, and author of the article on the Coronado expedition contained in the fourteenth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology.
Long-continued and minute research on the part of each of these investigators, and an intimate personal acquaintance with the geography of the section, render their judgment on this subject of great value. We are further indebted to them for assistance in the revision of all the chapters relating to the early Spanish explorations within the present domain of the United States.

On the Terraces at Zuni 297

Autograph of Coronado 298

Two Views of the Pueblo of Acoma 299
The rock fortress of Acoma copied from photographs supplied by Frederick Webb Hodge, editor of the *American Anthropologist*, Smithsonian Institution.
This village was very strong for defense. It was on a rock having steep sides so high that it was a good musket shot to its summit. The only entrance was by a stairway that began at the top of a slope around the base of the rock. The stairway was broad for about two hundred steps; then there was a stretch of about one hundred narrower steps. Beyond the stairway, one had to go three times the height of a man by means of holes in the rock, using both hands and feet. Above this dangerous approach was a wall of large and small stones that could be rolled down upon invaders without exposure of the dwellers of the pueblo. Upon this summit there were room for storing a large amount of corn and other supplies, cisterns for collecting water and snow, and land for tillage.

Map of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence . . . 304
Cartier at Gaspé 305
After a drawing by Jules Turcas.
Old View of Hochelaga (Montreal) . . . 307
A reduced facsimile from the third volume of Ramusio's *Raccolta* (Venice, 1565).
Jacques Cartier 308
From an old engraving.
The Landing of Ribault 312
A reduced facsimile from De Bry.
Ribault's Pillar 315
From the same.
Map of the Huguenot Settlements . . . 316
Fort Caroline 318
A reduced facsimile from De Bry.
Pedro Menendez de Aviles 319
From an old engraving.
Queen Elizabeth 322
From the ermine portrait, by Zucchero, now in Hatfield House, England.
Sir John Hawkins 323
After an engraving in Holland's *Heroologia Anglica* (Arnheim, 1620).
Sir Francis Drake 324
From a painting owned by T. F. Eliott Drake, Nutwell Court, near Exeter, England.
Thomas Cavendish 327
After an engraving in Holland's *Heroologia Anglica*.
Sir Humphrey Gilbert 328
From an old engraving.
Sir Walter Ralegh 329
From the painting by Zucchero.
Map of Ralegh's Explorations 331
An Indian Village 332
A reduced facsimile of De Bry's plate, *Oppidum Secota*.
Philip II. of Spain 334
From Titian's painting, in the Corsini Gallery, at Rome.
Autograph of Ralegh 335
Outline of the Fort at Roanoke 335
Arapaho Indians 339
From a photograph.
A Papago House 343
Tipis 344
An Iroquois Long-house 344
A Wampum Belt 348

An Indian Chief 350
From a photograph.

Hopi Dancers 351
From a photograph.

A Blackfoot Warrior 352
From a photograph.

Map of the United States, showing the Indian Reservations 354
After the one given in the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1899, corrected by James Mooney. Only government (national) reservations are shown; several state reservations in the East are not indicated. Some statistics regarding Indians, population, reservations, education, treaties, costs of wars, costs of maintenance, etc., appear as an appendix to this volume.

Map of the United States . . . *facing* 356
Showing the distribution of Indian linguistic stocks at the time of colonization and settlement. Prepared for this work by James Mooney.

BRIEF SUMMARY OF EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS VOLUME

1000 (circa).	Northmen under Leif Ericson settle "Vinland," probably at some point on the New England coast.
1492.	Columbus discovers a New World.
1493–94.	Columbus, on his second voyage discovers Porto Rico and Jamaica.
1497.	Cabot, John, discovers the mainland of America.
1497–98.	Da Gama passes the Cape of Good Hope and reaches India.
1498.	Cabot, John and Sebastian, extend discoveries from Labrador to Cape Cod. Columbus, on his third voyage, discovers South America. Pinzon and Solis explore the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic coast from Florida to Chesapeake Bay.
1500.	Cabral discovers Brazil.
1501.	Americus Vespucius explores the coast of South America.
1500–02.	The Cortereals explore the North American coast as far as Greenland.
1502.	Columbus sails on his fourth voyage.
1506.	Columbus dies at Valladolid.
1507.	Name "America" is first applied to the New World.
1513.	Ponce de Leon discovers Florida. Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean.
1519.	Pineda's Exploration.
1519–21.	Cortes conquers Mexico.
1519–22.	Magellan passes around South America into the Pacific. He discovers the Philippines, and is killed by the natives. One of his five ships, the "Victoria," reaches Seville in September, 1522, thus completing the first circumnavigation of the globe.
1524.	Verrazano and Gomez explore the coast of New England.
1528.	Narvaez coasts from Florida to Texas.
1530.	Hawkins, William, becomes the founder of the English slave-trade. He was followed by his son, the noted admiral Sir John Hawkins.
1533.	Pizarro conquers Peru and obtains an enormous booty.
1534–36.	Cabeza de Vaca crosses the continent.
1534–41.	Cartier explores the Saint Lawrence for France and attempts colonization.
1539.	Fray Marcos explores New Mexico, seeking the seven cities of Cibola.
1539–41.	De Soto's expedition; the discovery of the Mississippi.
1541–42.	Coronado's expedition.
1562–64.	French (Huguenots) in South Carolina.
1565.	Saint Augustine is founded by the Spanish. The oldest European settlement in the United States.
1577–80.	Drake explores the California coast and circumnavigates the earth.
1577–78.	Gilbert's, Sir Humphrey, first expedition.
1583.	Gilbert's, Sir Humphrey, second expedition and death.
1584.	Ralegh sends to America an exploring expedition under Amidas and Barlowe.
1585.	Ralegh's second expedition. A colony settles on Roanoke Island, but after a year of hardship is taken back to England by Drake.
1587.	Ralegh sends colonists to Roanoke. Birth of Virginia Dare, the first English child born on the soil of the United States.
1588.	Defeat of the Spanish Armada. By this event, so disastrous to Spain's ascendancy, the sea-power of England is established. From this date, English colonizing expeditions become increasingly frequent.

A FEW BITS OF EUROPEAN CHRONOLOGY
FOR THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The Papacy

1492–1503	Alexander VI
1503 (21 days)	Pius III
1503–1513	Julius II
1513–1522	Leo X
1522–1523	Adrian VI
1523–1534	Clement VII
1534–1549	Paul III
1550–1555	Julius III
1555 (22 days)	Marcellus II
1555–1559	Paul IV
1559–1565	Pius IV
1566–1572	Pius V
1572–1585	Gregory XIII
1585–1590	Sixtus V
1590 (12 days)	Urban VII
1590–1591	Gregory XIV
1591 (2 months)	Innocent IX
1592–1605	Clement VIII

Spain

1479–1504	Ferdinand and Isabella
1504–1516	Ferdinand (king of Aragon and regent of Castile)
1516–1556	Carlos I (Emperor Charles V)
1556–1598	Philip II
1598–1621	Philip III

Portugal

1438–1481	Alfonso V
1481–1495	John II
1495–1521	Emanuel (the Great)
1521–1557	John III
1557–1578	Sebastian
1578–1580	Henry ("the Cardinal")
1581–1598	Philip II (king of Spain)
1598–1621	Philip III (king of Spain)

France

1483–1498	Charles VIII
1498–1515	Louis XII
1515–1547	Francis I
1547–1559	Henry II
1559–1560	Francis II
1560–1574	Charles IX
1574–1589	Henry III
1589–1610	Henry IV (Henry of Navarre)

England: House of Tudor

1485–1509	Henry VII
1509–1547	Henry VIII
1547–1553	Edward VI
1553–1558	Mary
1558–1603	Elizabeth

A History of the United States and its People

Prehistoric Period

Period of Discovery

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST AMERICANS

IT is well known that, in 1492, Christopher Columbus sailed from Spain and discovered a new world in which he found a barbarian race. It is not generally understood that, prior to this, the western hemisphere had been visited by Europeans. Yet it has been claimed that the first families of this continent died out thousands of years before the traditions of the red man were begun, and it is difficult to doubt that more than one wanderer from the Old World rested on the soil of the New before Columbus was born.

The Two Problems

America has a history that is prehistoric. Concerning its primitive people, problem rises after problem. Of these problems, two tower above the others—age and origin. Were the first Americans autochthons or immigrants? If immigrants, whence came they and when? Where did they live and how? Was there ever, in any portion of the continent, a superior and mysterious race that vanished before the occupancy of the land by the red men whom Columbus found?

The Two Methods

Some of these problems are being solved; some perhaps never will be solved. Not long ago, men seemed not to know how to study them. They walked over ancient remains, and guessed and wondered as they wandered. What little was known about the shell-heap people, the mound-builders, the cliff-dwellers, and the pueblo tribes served only as a starting-point for archæological speculation; scientific research was unborn. Now,

men do not stand upon tumuli and dream; they excavate and know. The two methods are typical of yesterday and today.

A New Science

For many years students have been gathering data and arranging facts. Much has been learned and some safe generalizations have been made; further facts and fuller information are needed for the complete solution sought. The proper study of this remote past lies in the realm of prehistoric archæology, a recent science with important lessons at some of which it will be well to glance.

Drainage Systems

The Ouiatchouan Falls

The region of the great lakes and the country thence northward to the Arctic Ocean is a region of small lakes also. Waterfalls abound, and many streams are mere alternations of rapids and pools. The tendency of a stream below its pool is to cut its channel deeper and thus to drain the pool, while the tendency of the stream above is to fill it with mud and sand. In the course of time, under the operation of these causes, the pool will disappear. Similarly, the tendency of waterfall and rapids is to deepen the channel by the power of erosion; and, in time, they will do so until the slope of the stream is gentle and its current slow. Hence the conclusions that a stream the course of which is interrupted by lakes is either a young stream or that nature has recently put obstructions in its path, and that a stream with cascades and waterfalls and rapids is laboring at an unfinished task. South of the Ohio River such lakes and cataracts are rare; in British America and the northern United States they are very numerous. In the south, the drainage system is mature; in the north, it is young and immature. Let us seek an explanation of these facts.

MAP OF NORTH AMERICA

Man and Geology

The geologist observes successive strata and infers that they were successively formed, the lowest in the series being the oldest. Thus read, rocks and gravel-beds become historical records. If a fossil shell or a human implement is found in a previously undisturbed formation, we are forced to the conclusion that it is a relic of something that existed before that rock or bed was formed. The earlier and longer geologic eras give no trace of human life. Not even a suggestion of the existence of man prior to the tertiary and quaternary periods of the cenozoic era has been found, and the reality of tertiary man is looked upon as extremely problematical. On the other hand, the records of the glacial and the later epochs of the quaternary period seem to show that, at that time, "The First American" was at home.

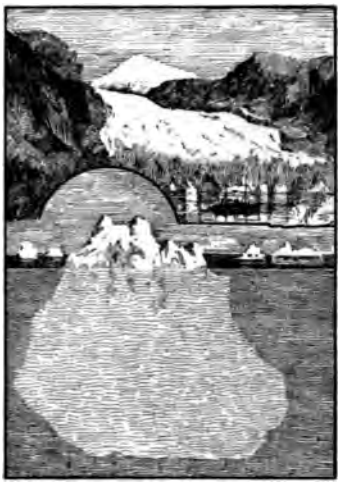
Earth-wrinkles

The three quaternary epochs were marked by movements of the earth's crust (grossly comparable to the progressive wrinkling of a picked orange), and by concomitant or consequent changes of climate. The first of these, the glacial epoch, was characterized by an upward movement of the earth-crust in high latitudes until that part of the continent was lifted several thousand feet above its present height. The testimony that supports such statements is abundant, and the discussions that relate to the causes that produced such elevations are interesting, but they hardly pertain to a work like this. An upheaval of the land about Hudson Bay has been in progress for at least two hundred years. New islands have appeared, many channels that were lately navigable and all the old harbors are now too shallow for ships, and some of the former beaches have been lifted sixty or seventy feet above the water. If this movement should continue at the present rate for a few centuries, dry land or salt marsh will take the place of what is now a shallow bay. Such an elevation of high plateaus that received snowfall throughout the year, the extension of the land, and the consequent cutting off of the warm oceanic currents from their flow into the arctic regions, are among the probable causes of an epoch of

unusual cold. Whatever the cause, huge ice-sheets brooded over most of the northland, and an arctic desolation reigned without a rival over half the continent.

Glacial Motion

To understand how this could be, we must remember that, under pressure, ice is plastic and moves like a semi-liquid. When piled high in a glacier, it acts much as pitch would act under similar circumstances. Snow is easily compacted into ice, and, in regions where the annual snowfall cannot melt away, ice would accumulate without limit were it not for its semi-fluid character which enables it to flow to lower levels and toward warmer climates. Observations upon modern Greenland glaciers indicate a movement of from thirty to fifty feet per day, and portions of the Muir glacier of Alaska are known to be moving from sixty to seventy feet per day. Thus, the ice-mass of the glacial period was analogous to a river, the current being supplied by the snowfall in far northern regions. At the edges of the continent the ice-river discharged into the oceans, huge masses breaking off and floating away as icebergs. The much greater discharge was upon the land, the ice-sheet melting at its southern margin.



Glacier and Iceberg

Titanic Labors

This immense mass of ice, thousands of feet in thickness and pressing downward with enormous force, moved slowly southward, plowing out river-valleys, excavating lake-basins, sweeping away vast forests, tearing off the tops and sides of ledges, mixing the debris with its own mass, grinding all together to form boulder-clay and sand and pebbles, and, by the abrasion of rocks at its lower surface, planing and grooving the strata which it laid bare and over which it moved. The Green Mountains, stand-

ing from three to five thousand feet in height, "made scarcely more of a ripple in the moving mass than a sunken log would make in a shallow river." Even Mount Washington was wholly submerged, or, at the best, lifted its hoary head not more than four or five hundred feet above the surface of the glacier. The Mohawk valley was filled nearly to the height of the Catskills. The gravel, sand, clay, and boulders, picked up or torn off by the ice, were carried with it to its southern margin and there left as the ice melted. If that margin had been fixed, these materials would have built a single high wall; but as, owing to variations of temperature and seasons, that margin was continually advancing or receding, the burdens thus mechanically borne were laid down over a large area and constitute what is known as the drift deposit. The stones thus moved vary in size from small pebbles to masses weighing thousands of tons. The distance to which they were carried generally varies from ten to forty miles, although some are known to have been carried several hundred miles. Thus, the famous Forefathers' Rock was borne from its early home near Boston thousands of years ago and laid on the Plymouth coast to serve as a stepping-stone in 1620; the huge jasper conglomerate now on the campus of Michigan University came from Lake Huron's northern shore, and a similar conglomerate, nearly three feet in diameter, has been found among the hills of Kentucky, more than six hundred miles south of its native bed.

Glacial Striæ

The Drift Deposit

Rock Waste at the Foot of a Glacier

Prehistoric Transportation

MAP OF THE UNITED STATES
(Indicating the greatest extension of the continental ice-sheet)

At the beginning of this epoch there were no great lakes, no Niagara, and few if any waterfalls. The rivers had cut their channels down so low that they drained to the bottom any lakes that may have once existed. As the great ice-sheet advanced from the Laurentian highlands, it blocked the passage of the northward flowing streams and turned their waters southward. The great glacial ice-dam across the Ohio near Cincinnati must have raised the water of the river five hundred and fifty feet, and produced a long, narrow, slack-water pond that has received the name of Lake Ohio. The waters of this lake probably covered a valley a thousand miles in length, and submerged the site of Pittsburg three hundred feet. When, with the amelioration of the climate, "Wright's dam" at last gave way, and the waters that had been piled high over twenty thousand square miles of territory dashed down the long ice-rapids, wearing and melting their channel and destroying the foundations of the dam itself, what a spectacle where Cincinnati is, and what dire disaster for the human dwellers in the valley through which rolled the furious torrent!

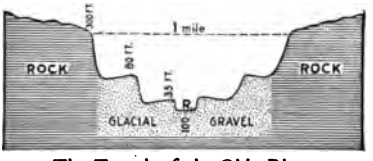
"Wright's Dam"

After the long reign of ice came a depression of parts of the earth's crust, and a mitigation of the rigors of the long and terrible winter. At Montreal the depression was more than five hundred feet. The Saint Lawrence became an arm of the sea, and Lake Champlain a deep bay with its whales and seals and sea-shells. With this moderation of the climate came a melting of the ice and a retreat of the ice-front. The liquefying glacier made a flood vast beyond conception; the lower Mississippi had an average breadth of fifty miles. Thus the ice age is divisible into two epochs—the first epoch (glacial) being marked by a high elevation of extended areas and the development of vast ice-sheets; the second epoch (Champlain) being characterized by the subsidence of these areas, the melting of the ice, and the deposition of glacial and modified drift. It is estimated that not less than four million square miles of territory in North America are covered with an average depth of fifty feet of glacial

Ice-age Epochs

Glacial Drift

debris. The drainage of the glaciated region was so changed that "the country resembles, on a large scale, a checked and worm-eaten plank which a carpenter has filled with putty." The streams flowing southward from the glaciated area had to carry away the annual fall of rain and snow and the melting accumulations of thousands of years. In many parts of the United States the annual rise of these streams brings dreaded disasters; what imagination can paint the magnitude of the spring freshets at the end of the glacial epoch?

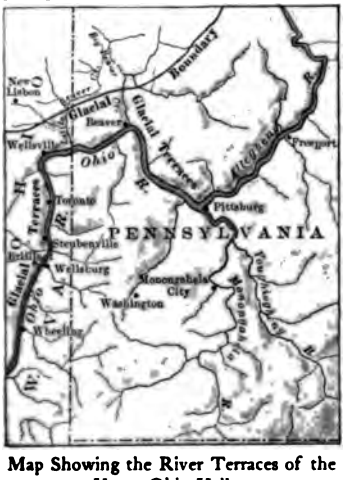


The Trough of the Ohio River

The terraces that border such streams bear enduring witness to the torrents and are, in fact, the high-water mark of the floods of that period. The material of which they were made was brought from the north by the gorged and gravel-laden glacial streams. The figure above represents a section of the trough of the Ohio River a few miles below Steubenville, and clearly indicates the relative youth of the gravel terraces along the banks of the stream. The ancient rock-gorge lies a hundred feet beneath the present bottom of the river. There is no disagreement as to the glacial origin of the gravel deposits in this old gorge. Such terraces border every stream that came from the ice-front. At the glacial boundary, the terraces spread out into the terminal moraines that were deposited directly by the ice. Throughout its course, the Allegheny was gorged with this glacial gravel, and the terraces abound. On the other hand, the Monongahela had no

Glacial Torrents

Glacial Gravels



Map Showing the River Terraces of the Upper Ohio Valley
(The glaciated area is untinted, and the terraces are shown by dots)

glacial torrents, has no glacial gravel, and the terraces are conspicuous by their absence. Such terraces are not found along the streams that have their sources south of the glacial boundary.

Lake Iroquois

For a time, during the final retreat of the glacier, the ice-front lay between the Adirondacks and the upland divide that separates the basin of the great lakes from the basin of the Mississippi. As the water from the melting glacier could not escape by way of the closed Saint Lawrence, it gathered as a lake between the upland divide and the ice-front. The site of Niagara was beneath the ice or the waters of the lake that bordered the ice; there was no river there. When the glacier withdrew far enough for these accumulated waters to flow out by way of the Mohawk valley, the lake-level fell about three hundred feet, or to the level of the outlet at Rome, New York. Lake Iroquois was largely drained and was cut in twain; the contracted sections are now known as Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Then Niagara was born and began the work of cutting its famous gorge. The waters of Lake Michigan no longer flowed down the Illinois River, or those of Lake Erie into the Wabash. The delicate equipoise of levels in the region of the great lakes is worthy of remark. A cut not more than ten feet deep makes possible the flow of water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois River. The Chicago drainage canal follows the well-marked route of the ancient outlet. A rise of the land in the vicinity of Buffalo, or a fall of the land in the vicinity of Chicago, or both, that would change the relative levels only forty feet, would turn the waters of four of the inland seas that lie on the southward slope of the Laurentian highlands from the Saint Lawrence to the Mississippi.

Birth of Niagara

Other Glacial Lakes

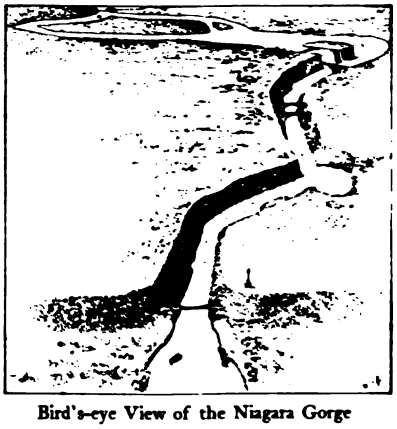
In like manner, the great ice-barrier had checked the flow of waters through Hudson Bay into the North Atlantic and poured them through the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico. What we call Nebraska was, at one time, a great fresh-water lake into which were poured the waters of the Missouri, the Platte, and the

Map of the United States
(Indicating the recession of the ice-front nearly to the Mohawk Valley)

Republican rivers. When the ice-front was melted back a little way, Lake Nebraska was drained southward. When it had withdrawn much further northward, Manitoba and British Columbia were no longer drained through the Minnesota and the Mississippi; Lake Agassiz, the largest and the latest of the bodies of water held in position by the ice of the glacial period, was drained northward, leaving Lake Winnipeg to represent it. For like reasons, the level of the Great Salt Lake (Lake Bonneville) fell nine hundred feet, and its area was proportionally contracted. The modern Pyramid and North Carson lakes are the shrunken representatives of the earlier Lake Lahontan. Everywhere, glacial rivers dwindled to mere reminiscences of their former glory. The ice age still lingers in Greenland and in the Alaskan region of Mount Saint Elias. For reasons to be set forth further on, the study of the ice age passes from the field of geology into that of history.

Geologic Eras

While the eras of geologic chronology bewilder by their immensity, their relative lengths have been estimated. It is generally agreed that the mesozoic is at least three times as long as the cenozoic, and that the paleozoic is at least four times as long as the mesozoic, thus making cenozoic time less than one-sixteenth of the whole. In our present study we are chiefly interested in the post-tertiary fragment of that one-sixteenth. Although the human history units of years and centuries are so exceedingly brief that the two orders of time are hardly commensurate, the attempt has been made, over and over again, to link the two chronologies.



Bird's-eye View of the Niagara Gorge

The gorge between Niagara Falls and Lake Ontario

has been cut out by the river since the glacial epoch. From the observed rate of the recession of the falls, the time required for the river to cut its gorge has been computed. Ten thousand years has been for some time generally accepted as the approximate period represented by the work of erosion from Lewiston back to the falls. Similar measurements of the gorge and falls of Saint Anthony, computations based upon the rate of wave-cutting along the sides of Lake Michigan, the rate of filling of kettle-holes, and other processes, yield concurrent results, and seem to justify the assertion that the ice-sheets disappeared from the Laurentian highlands about ten thousand years ago.

Age of Niagara

Date of the Ice Age

In the earliest archæan age (azoic), only dead matter existed on the earth. Then life appeared: first, the unconscious life of the plant; then, the conscious and intelligent life of the animal. After almost countless ages, man appeared. Upon matter, life had been imposed; now, mind was to crown the structure, standing upon matter and life and dominating both. "And the evening and the morning were the sixth day." At what stage in this scheme of development did man first appear in the world that Columbus found, and what sort of a being was he?

The First American

Between 1850 and 1860, when the gold-fever was at its height in California, interesting reports were current in the mining camps. Although they related to the finding of human remains in the gold-bearing gravels of the Sierras, they attracted little attention from the scientific world. In the next decade, scientific interest was aroused by reports of the finding of stone pestles and mortars, rude articles of ornament, and a human jaw-bone in the gravel deposits beneath the flow of lava locally known as Table Mountain. This lava issued from the mountain-

Relics under Table Mountain

Section across Table Mountain

(*R* represents the old river-bed, which was doubtless bordered by a ridge on either side, as indicated by the dotted lines)

range, and flowed down the valley of the Stanislaus River for a distance of fifty or sixty miles, burying everything in the valley beneath it, and compelling the river to seek another channel. The thickness of the lava averages about a hundred feet. So long a time has elapsed since the eruption that the softer strata on either side of the ancient valley have been worn away, leaving the lava above the general level. The age of the gravels of the old river-bed, underneath the lava, is uncertain.

Calaveras Skull, 1866

The Calaveras Skull

The interest thus aroused was intensified by the finding of an entire human skull, known as the Calaveras skull, under this lava deposit, and in gravel about a hundred and thirty feet below the surface. When this skull was zealously put forward as evidence of the existence of man in a somewhat advanced stage of progress during the pliocene epoch of the tertiary period,

> Great contest followed, and much learned dust!

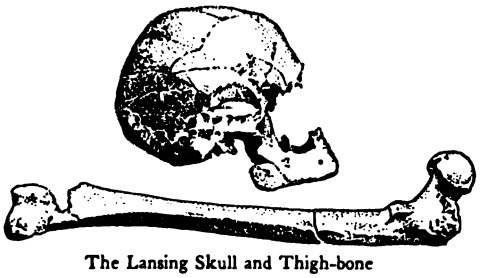
Persistent attempts have been made to discredit the testimony of the skull as a veritable relic of prehistoric man. The battle has been long and fierce, but some eminent ethnologists still strenuously claim that no true archæological finds have been obtained from under the lava deposits. Interest in the Calaveras skull was freshened by the discovery at Nampa, Idaho, of a small but finely wrought clay image, at the depth of about three hundred and twenty feet. Eminent archæologists affirm that the image bears conclusive evidence of considerable antiquity and offers important testimony to the existence of a well-advanced human culture in western America at an early day. In February, 1902, a human skeleton was found in previously undisturbed stratified loess of the Missouri

Nampa Image, 1889

The Nampa Image

River valley, near Lansing, Kansas, and about eighteen miles northwest of Kansas City. The skull was found entire and nearly all of the skeleton was represented by disjointed bones some of which were broken or partly decayed. The discovery was quickly heralded as confirmation of the previously known evidences of man's presence in America at the glacial period. Upham and Winchell and other well-known archæologists assign to the Lansing skeleton an antiquity of more than ten thousand years, Professor Wright is confident that it was buried before the close of the Iowan epoch of the glacial period, while Professor Chamberlin concedes to the relic nothing more than an antiquity very respectable but much short of the close of the glacial invasion.

Lansing Skeleton, 1902



The Lansing Skull and Thigh-bone

Not very long ago, it was held that no truly scientific proof of man's great antiquity in America exists; but such proof was supplied in 1875 by Doctor Charles C. Abbott's discovery of paleolithic implements in the gravel terrace at Trenton, New Jersey. These implements are rude stone objects, shaped by chipping so as to produce cutting edges, and are usually pointed at one end. They seem to have been chiefly weapons used in hunting. When it is remembered that some of them bear thirty or forty planes of cleavage, equally weathered, it is difficult to doubt that they are results of intelligent, intentional action. From other remains discovered in the Trenton gravels with these relics of early man, or in close proximity to them, we infer that the North Americans of the glacial epoch must have

Doctor Abbott's Discoveries

The Trenton Gravels

A Trenton Paleolith

been familiar with the mastodon, walrus, Greenland reindeer, caribou, bison, moose, and musk-ox. Perhaps man and animals had been forced southward by the encroaching ice.

Direct Traces of Glacial Man

These implements could not have been in the gravel where they were found unless they were left there by the forces that laid the gravel-beds, and the Trenton gravels were deposited by the torrent that came from the melting glacier. Besides these paleolithic implements, the Trenton gravels have yielded one human cranium and parts of others. In November, 1899, Mr. Ernest Volk, exploring the valley of the Delaware for traces of glacial man, found a fragment of a human thigh-bone in undisturbed stratified glacial gravels. While distinguished ethnologists still deny that there exists any evidence of a preglacial American, the general opinion among archæologists is that the primeval American antedates the close of the glacial epoch. In 1888, paleolithic implements were found in a red-gravel deposit near Claymont, Delaware. This Claymont gravel is a glacial deposit and is regarded as some thousands of years older than that at Trenton. It thus appears that man was in the Delaware valley at a period far earlier than that indicated by the discoveries at Trenton.

Map Showing the River Terraces of the Delaware Valley

The Claymont Gravels

Antiquity of the First American

An antiquity vastly greater than the actual age of the Claymont gravels has been assigned to man in America. "Of necessity, he must have been in existence long before the final events occurred, in order to have left his implements buried in the beds of debris which they occasioned." Moreover, "the close of the glacial period" is a very indefinite expression. "The glacial

period was a long time in closing." In his *History of the Niagara River*, Mr. Gilbert tells us that, from first to last, man has been the witness of its toil. The human comrade of the river's youth "told us little of himself. We only know that on a gravelly beach of Lake Iroquois, now the Ridge Road, he rudely gathered stones to make a hearth and build a fire; and the next storm-breakers, forcing back the beach, buried and thus preserved, to gratify yet whet our curiosity, hearth, ashes, and charred sticks. In these Darwinian days, we cannot deem primeval that man possessed of the Promethean art of fire, and so his presence on the scene adds zest to the pursuit of the Niagara problem. Whatever the antiquity of the great cataract may be found to be, the antiquity of man is greater." Encouraged thus and otherwise, Doctor Abbott joyfully proclaims: "There was a time when, to all appearances, American archæology would have to be squeezed into the cramped quarters of ten thousand years; but we are pretty sure of twenty or even thirty thousand now, in which to spread out in proper sequence and without confusion the long train of human activities that have taken place."

Ohio Paleoliths

In 1883, Professor Wright expressed his belief that glacial man was upon the banks of the Ohio as well as in New Jersey. This belief proved to be well founded, for, in 1885, came the report that paleolithic implements had been found in the valley of the Little Miami. In 1889, a paleolith about four inches long was found at Newcomerstown in the undisturbed gravel of the glacial terrace that borders the valley of the Tuscarawas River. Newcomerstown is about thirty-five miles south of the glacial boundary in Ohio, and the head-waters of the river and of several of its branches are within the glaciated area. In 1892, a chipped chert implement was discovered in the undisturbed glacial gravel of the high-level terrace of the Ohio River, about seven miles below

The Newcomerstown Paleolith

Steubenville. These finds, and others in Minnesota and elsewhere, are looked upon as witnesses to the truth of the statement that "the primitive chipper of flinty rock stands out in the geologic history of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, not as a dim shadow but as a substantial fact."

Disputed Finds

Implements of varying finish have been found in the lacustrine deposits of several of the western states and territories. A fine example of these is the obsidian spear-head found in 1882 in the lacustral clays of the basin of the ancient Lake Lahontan, twenty-five feet below the top of the section. It is said to have been "associated in such a manner with the bones of an elephant or mastodon as to leave no doubt of their having been buried at approximately the same time." By some authorities these implements are held to be convincing evidence of the existence of man in those regions, while others declare that "no such discovery can be considered of consequence as bearing upon the question of paleolithic man." Not until the evidence submitted becomes strong enough to produce substantial unanimity among archæologists, can they be of great value to the historian. Fortunately, such unanimity has been secured in regard to the existence of paleolithic man in the valleys of the Delaware and the Ohio prior to the formation of the terraces.

The Obsidian Spear-head

The Stone Age

The history of human civilization has long been divided into three ages named from the materials of the weapons and tools pertaining to them, viz.: the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages. In turn, the stone age has been divided into the paleolithic (old stone) and the neolithic (newer stone) periods. In the former, only chipped stone instruments were used; in the latter, polished stone implements also were used. The classification is traditional, and so convenient that it is often used in spite of its lack of scientific accuracy.

European Lake-dwellings

In Swiss and other European peat-beds and lakes are found evidences of a more advanced stone-age culture than any yet considered. Patient investigators have translated these hieroglyphics of dead ages, and made us familiar with the lake-dwellers and their strange custom of living in houses built on piles driven in the shallow bays of nearly all the lakes in Switzerland. One of these towns, Robenhausen, stood on a platform built on a hundred thousand piles. Like all the other Swiss lake-towns, it was connected with the land by a long bridge, also built on piles. Such was their security against wild beasts and wilder men—a device older far than castles and walled towns. The only way of judging of the age of these lake-dwellings is by estimating the time required for the formation of the peat-beds in which the ruins are found. Reckoned thus, many of these lately exhumed villages must have been old a thousand years before the foundations of Pompeii were laid. Some of the relics of the builders of these European towns show the advance of communities to a state far above that of savagery. What about our early Americans?

Lake-dwellings Restored

Their Great Antiquity

Advance in Culture

Our paleolithic predecessor was low in the scale of civilization, but he was perfectly human. If the "missing link" is wanted, it must be sought for elsewhere. Moreover, there seems to be abundant and unmistakable evidence of his transition to a higher culture-status. In deposits made by slowly moving muddy water, followed by interrupted periods of exposure to the atmosphere, is found another class of objects, superior in form and finish to the paleoliths and equally inferior to the familiar types of Indian manufacture. The discovery in

The Evidence

the Delaware River marshes of what seems to be the site of river-dwellings, suggestive of the Swiss lake-dwellings and perhaps comparable to them, has also been held up as confirmation of the theory of a progression of the paleolithic American to the neolithic condition. Further confirmation of such development is found in the remains of a rock-shelter discovered near the head-waters of Naaman's Creek, a small tributary of the Delaware. The several layers of this shelter show a marked and regular progression from paleoliths in the lower to pottery in the upper strata. These and other facts point toward the conclusion that, in the valley of the Delaware, man developed from the paleolithic to the neolithic stage of culture. After that, what? Some have pointed to the Eskimos as the descendants of this primitive race, while others seem very sure that "the paleolithic man of the river gravels of the Trenton and his argillite-using posterity" are completely extinct.

The Conclusion

The Earlier Start of the West

As to the culture of primeval man on the Pacific Coast, it is to be remembered that the mortars and pestles found under Table Mountain are distinctly neolithic, that the Calaveras skull "is capacious enough to have held the brain of a philosopher," and that the Nampa image shows a high degree of skill on the part of him who shaped it. The known facts have led some to the conclusion that the western coast of the continent was occupied by man earlier than the eastern, and that there "he had passed beyond the paleolithic stage before his works were buried in the gravels under the beds of lava; while at a later period on the Atlantic coast he was still in the paleolithic stage."

Racial Continuity

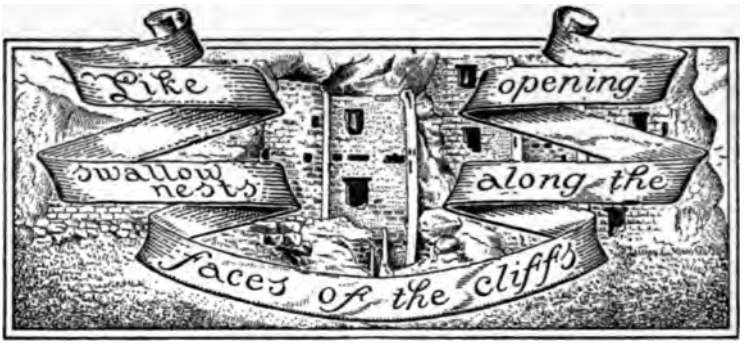
The theory that the Eskimo now represents this most ancient of America's known races has been urged by more than one able writer, Doctor Abbott among the rest. But Doctor Abbott has changed his earlier opinion and now suggests an ethnic continuity by recalling the primitive hunter armed with but a sharpened stone, and the later race, a "more skillful folk who with spear and knife captured whatsoever creature their needs demanded—

the earlier and later chippers of argillite. These pass; and the Indian with his jasper, quartz, copper, and polished stone looms up, as the others fade away." This substitution of continuity for chasm conforms to the undoubted tendency of recent ethnology.

Objections to the Theory

Some archæologists still refuse to admit the sufficiency of the credentials of our paleolithic predecessor on the ground that the objects found in the glacial gravels are intrusive or that the deposits in which they were found were violently disturbed in distinctly post-glacial time. But the careful exhaustive examination of the Trenton gravels as a whole, and especially the investigations of Mr. Volk, carried on for a decade under the direction of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, seem to demonstrate that the many objects collected from many localities in the valley of the Delaware were constituent parts of the original deposits. At all events, the historian can hardly consent to ignore the evidence submitted or to relegate the glacial American to the uncertainty of primeval chaos. More than this, we must bear in mind that it has not been proved that our paleolithic man was the first human being who existed in the territory that we now call the United States. Nor can we yet do more than conjecture when and whence he or his predecessor (if he had a predecessor) came.

NOTE.— The bibliographical appendix at the end of this volume contains references that will be helpful to the reader who desires further information concerning the matters discussed in this and the succeeding chapters.



CHAPTER II

THE NEOLITHIC AMERICANS

THE occupancy of the territory of the United States by man prior to the coming of Columbus to America has been divided into three periods. The first of these, called the paleolithic, on account of the rudeness of the relics found in the quaternary gravels, has already been discussed. The second period, called the neolithic, is also prehistoric. The relics of neolithic industry are very abundant and widely distributed, and chiefly through them the archæologist seeks to read the story of the culture of their authors. The third period, sometimes called the ethnographic, lies partly within and partly without historical times. It began with our first knowledge of the red man, and is now fading from the screen like a dissolving view that has been held up for study full four hundred years. As might naturally be expected, the paleolithic shades so insensibly into the neolithic, and that into the ethnographic, that sharp dividing lines cannot be traced. In fact, some of the most eminent archæologists insist that the distinction implied in the terms "paleolithic" and "neolithic" is not strictly applicable to the continent of America. With this contention the historian has nothing to do; he may use the convenient terms without yielding an adherence to one side or the other of the controversy.

Prehistoric Monuments

Over the entire area of the United States are found ancient remains, the number, magnitude, and character of which are of great interest to all students of primitive

culture. In grandeur and refinement they fall below the monuments of middle America and many of the ruins of the eastern continent; still they have their special story of a people emerging from savagery into barbarism. It should be remembered that different parts of the United States were discovered by Europeans at different times, new areas being successively occupied, and new tribes coming, one after another, into the acquaintance of the historian. Little is known of what the central Indians were doing when Ponce de Leon 1512
first set foot on Florida. Mound-building may have been in active operation while Jacques Cartier was 1535
exploring the Saint Lawrence, and southwestern tribes were living in now ruined pueblos while Hernando de Soto was marching toward the Mississippi. Important 1540
Indian movements have taken place in the United States since the settlement of the country, and many of the California tribes were unknown until after 1850.

Necessary Cautions

The archæologist of today sometimes has to doubt whether the remains upon which he comes are of European or of Indian origin. Moreover, these prehistoric peoples must be studied, less with reference to the boundaries of our present states, than to culture-areas the boundaries of which were fixed by nature in the geography and geology of the country. One may draw on a sheet of glass a map of the United States of the present day, and on other sheets a map for the colonial period, one for the epoch of settlement, one for the Indian occupation at the time of the Columbian discovery, and another for the neolithic period; but if one insists upon the superposition of the plates and a single view of the whole, one will find that, while some of the lines coincide with others above and below, more of them will cross and interfere and yield little better than confusion.

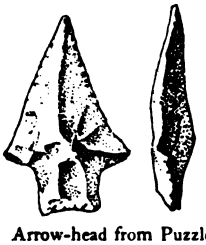
The Evidence

For years, the government of the United States has, through its Bureau of American Ethnology, been gathering, arranging, and studying material bearing upon the subject matter of this chapter. The annual reports of this bureau are veritable treasure-houses—the chief source of

supply for every historian of "The Neolithic Americans." Among the witnesses whose testimony is now available for an intelligent idea of the neolithic American and the life he led are the remains of his refuse-heaps and habitations, mounds and earthworks, quarries and workshops, "relics," pictographs, etc. Of course, no attempt can here be made to give a complete account of the evidence in the case, but some of the witnesses may be put upon the stand and permitted to tell parts of their story.

Shell-heaps

(*a*) Along the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf coasts of the United States, upon the shores of every inlet where brackish water extends, and upon the banks of the Mississippi as far as northern Wisconsin, the Ohio as far as Pittsburg, the Saint Johns, and other inland waters, are found shell-deposits left by man. Very few of them were heaped up by design, but the evidence of their artificial origin is conclusive. They generally occur on a sloping shore, and some of them excite astonishment by their great extent. It is probable that, at the proper season, the neighboring tribes encamped upon the heaps of previous years, leveling the tops a little and covering up all that their predecessors had left. Here they dwelt and feasted, the occupants of each hut throwing the shells, bones, and other debris of their meals around the shelter on every side. The number and size of the shell-heaps indicate either that the shores of the United States and the banks of its rivers once supported a vast population, or that the pilgrimages of the aborigines to these food-centers were continued through many centuries. The latter view is supported by the discovery that the shells in the upper layers differ in size from those in the lower layers, indicating that the animals underwent modification after the heaps were begun and before they were finished. The shell-heaps of Florida have been carefully studied by Clarence B. Moore who found distinctly neolithic stone implements in the lower strata and fragments

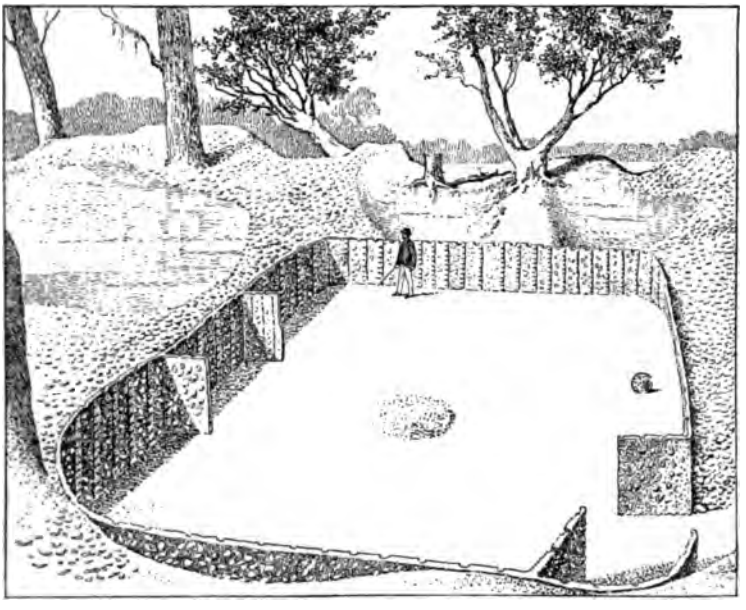


Arrow-head from Puzzle Lake, Florida

of pottery in strata near the surface. Some of his conclusions are that the shell-heaps are by no means contemporary, that some were abandoned long before others were begun, and that the beginning of the oldest far antedates the coming of the white man. The evidence seems to show that in the shell-heap period, the aborigines of Florida acquired the art of making pottery.

An Unique Specimen

In 1898, Mr. Moore found a remarkable domiciliary mound on the southeast end of Little Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina. The mound was about four-



Mound on Little Island, South Carolina

teen feet high with an elliptical base the north and south diameter of which measured one hundred and fifty feet and the east and west diameter about one hundred feet. On the mound were pine-trees, some of them large, and live-oaks of moderate size. Excavation exposed the clay walls of a quadrilateral enclosure nearly thirty-five by forty feet. The walls were a little more than four feet high, and were supported by upright posts that projected

several inches above the top of the wall. The peculiar entrance, anteroom, and projecting partitions, the central fireplace, etc., are represented in the accompanying picture. This remarkable enclosure was filled and covered with shell deposits and strata of clayey sand that showed successive periods of occupancy.

Bone-heaps

As the shell-heaps are found in the greatest numbers where edible mollusks are most abundant, so bone-heaps are common in Dakota and other states where countless buffaloes once furnished food for the hunting tribes. These bone-heaps are the debris of the repasts of long ago, and represent the accumulated refuse of dwellings that have disappeared. In other places and in like manner, the refuse of the kitchen thrown about the doorway by untidy housewives forms mines of relics precious to the archæologist.

House Life

(*b*) Wherever remains of ancient habitations are found in the United States they agree with the foundations of dwellings subsequently occupied by Indians. This may be an argument in favor of the theory of continuity of stock, or it may point toward the adaptiveness of the human race. By careful comparison of the remains of ancient dwellings with the abodes of Indians living here in historic times, the archæologist and the ethnologist have obtained what is probably a correct idea of the house life of the primitive people. Thus, we have a few bits of evidence concerning the habitations of the mound-builders, and more definite information concerning the ancient dwellings in the pueblo country of the southwest part of the United States. The remains of pueblo architecture are scattered over thousands of square miles of the arid plateau region, from the Pecos drainage on the east to that of the Colorado on the west, and from central Utah southward well into Mexico. The best

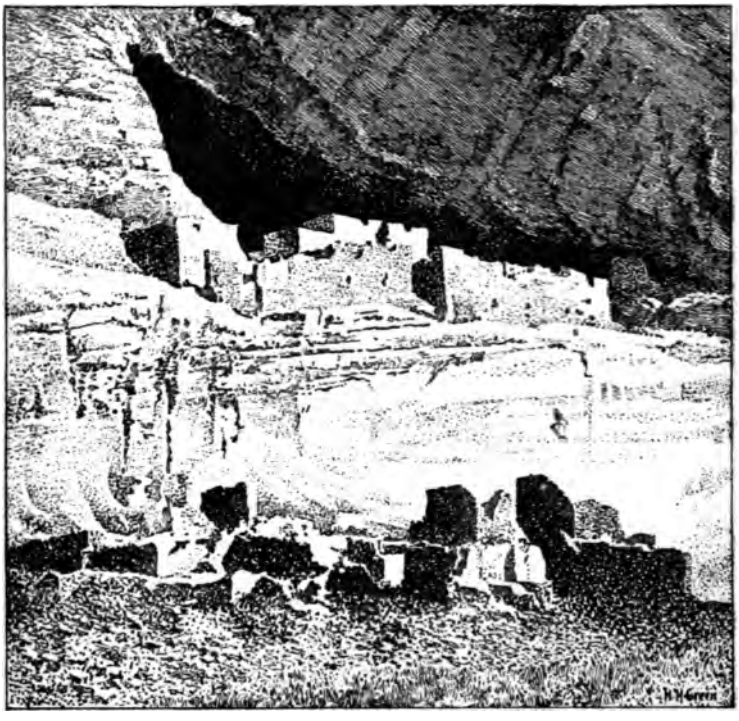
Round-house of Lava Blocks

MAP OF THE PUEBLO REGION

examples are found in New Mexico and Arizona, in the northern states of Mexico, and along the canyons that open into the San Juan River.

Cliff-dwellings

It is supposed that the ancestral pueblo peoples dwelt at first in brush shelters, and later in lodges of lava-stones piled up dry and then plastered. For better protection, these clans of horticulturists and agriculturists resorted to cliff or canyon houses. These cliff-dwellings are now in ruins. Along the branches of the Colorado and



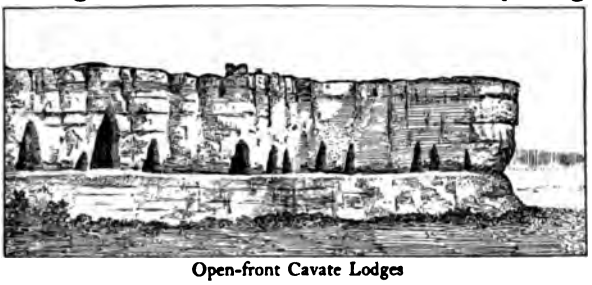
Cliff-dwellings

other streams, the steep sides of the canyons expose different strata — sandstones, limestones, and shales. Gradually the softer rocks were worn away, leaving shelves below and jutting cliffs above. In these pockets the ancient people made their communal homes, by building walls upon or near the outer edges of the

shelves, and dividing the space behind the walls with partitions of stone and adobe (sun-dried clay). Some of these shelves are hundreds of feet above the streams and can be reached only by ladders or by steps cut in the rocks. They are the most picturesque of all the ruins in the United States and have excited the admiration alike of the tourist and the archæologist.

Cave-dwellings

In close association with the cliff-dwellings are the cave or cavate dwellings — much like swallow nests opening along the faces of the cliffs. Here the ancient engineer, impatient of the slow action of the elements, dug, with his pick of hard volcanic rock, a tiny entrance, at the further end of which he hollowed out a home. The cave-dwelling is, therefore, an artificial cliff-pueblo, cut in the rock, for the security of those who lived therein. East of the Rocky Mountains there are few traces of the cave-homes of ancient men, but for this the southwest valleys make amends. Thousands have been found in close connection with old pueblos and cliff-structures.



Open-front Cavate Lodges

A Communal Pueblo, Zuni

Pueblos

From these cliff-hamlets were developed the great

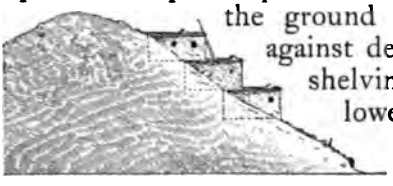
terraced villages of the confederated clans. A pueblo is a communal village, the dwellings of which are built solidly together. Some of them are made of stone, and others of adobe, while the walls of some of the older examples were grouted. A few of them are four or five stories high, with timber supports and divisions for the upper parts. Entrance to these pueblos was commonly made by means of ladders, outside doors on the ground level formerly being rare.

Aboriginal Social System

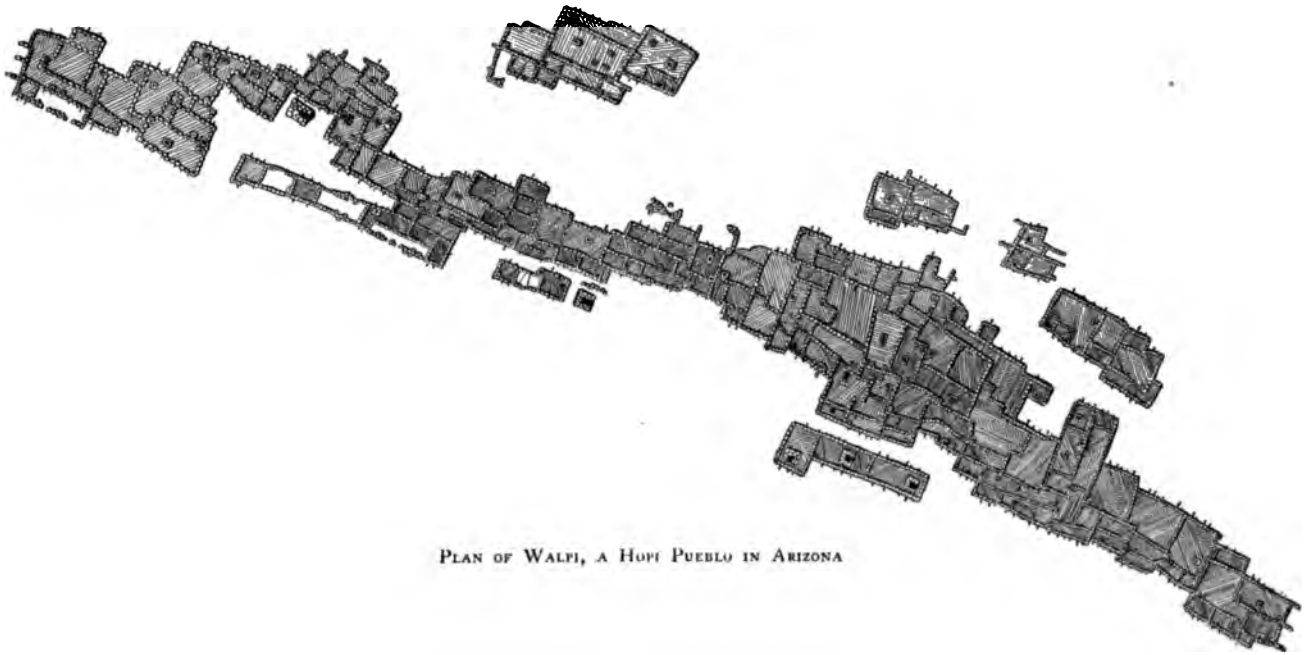
The structure of the pueblos, like that of the great cedar houses of the Pacific Coast and the long-houses of the Iroquois, was determined by the clanship system of the aborigines, who had not yet reached the patriarchal form of government. Each tribe was divided into clans. A clan consisted of an ancestress and all of her descendants reckoned in the female line. These had a common totem or tutelary god that dwelt in some animate or inanimate object. When a man married, he went to live with his wife's people; all of the children belonged especially to the mother, were named for her, and took her totem. This clanship system and its totemism determined pueblo architecture, regulating the size of buildings, the number of rooms, and the assignment of apartments. As the clan grew in numbers, it enlarged its section of the town; when another clan was added, the building was extended. A few pueblo ruins indicate that they were built on definite preliminary plans; but generally a pueblo grew just as a modern village grows, and for the same practical reasons.

Adaptation to Environment

Most of the pueblos were built on level plains, some upon the slopes or points of mesas or table-lands where the ground was irregular, and some against declivities, reaching back on shelving ledges, so that, if the lower stones were to disappear, a cliff-dwelling would remain. Evidently, the transition from one to the other was gradual. In common with all men, the builders



Evolution of the Flat Roof and Terrace



PLAN OF WALPI, A HOPI PUEBLO IN ARIZONA

of these habitations had to face the great problem of existence; here, as everywhere, environment gave character to the dwellings of the people. Some of them were built in easily defensible positions. In other cases, the proximity of fertile lands and the necessary water-supply determined the site. Naturally, there was a wide range in general plan and architectural effect. For instance, in the pueblo class, we find the Walpi pueblo differing greatly from the typical form illustrated on page 29. In this case, the peculiar conformation of the site produced an unusual irregularity of arrangement.

View of Walpi, Arizona

Pueblo Builders

Inhabited pueblos to the number of seventeen now exist on the banks of the Rio Grande and its tributaries in New Mexico. West of these, on a solitary mesa, is Acoma, the dizzy trail of which was noted by the early Spanish explorers. Still further west is Zuni, standing on the site of one of the "Seven Cities of Cibola." In northeastern Arizona are the seven Moki (Hopi) towns —ancient Tusayan. The occupants of the several pueblos belong to four linguistic stocks. Those of the Rio Grande have two absolutely separate languages, each different from that of the Zunis, while the people of six

of the seven Moki towns speak another language, the Shoshonean. They also have different clans, arts, and customs. Of the tribes that now roam over these mesas and through these valleys are Apaches and Navahos of Athapascan stock, Utes of Shoshonean stock, and Mohaves and Havasupais of Yuman stock; like differences have probably existed in this arid basin from time immemorial. Although this region was not occupied until recently by settlers from "the states," it was for many years under Spanish dominion and observation. Since the beginning of Spanish contact in 1539, many pueblos have fallen into ruin and new ones have been built. We have, therefore, three epochs of pueblo architecture—the present, the Spanish, and the ancient.

Prehistoric Graves

(*c*) The last chapter of many a record is an epitome; graves and cemeteries abound in instruction. Comparison of ancient burials with the mortuary customs of historic tribes is an excellent guide to lead us backward to an understanding of the long-ago. The remains of the ancient dead are seldom isolated. In general, the bones of clans or tribes were laid side by side, or in some one of many curious ways assembled in a common burial-place. Four of these burial-places, differing widely in their characteristics, may be taken as types.

The First Type

One, at Madisonville, Ohio, occupies the western extremity of a plateau overlooking the Little Miami River. This whole area has been carefully dug over to a depth of six feet; the earth thus disturbed was passed through a sieve. Hundreds of skeletons were found surrounded with pottery, beads, and implements of clay, stone, horn, bone, and copper—the objects that were most esteemed in life and that would be most needed in the spirit-world. In many cases, these objects are of well-known use among modern Indians, while others are enigmas to the archæologist. No evidences of association with Europeans were found, and the forest-trees growing over the cemetery were of great age.

The Second Type

In other cases, the bones of the dead are found in box-shaped graves built of rough stone slabs. Such

"stone graves" have been found in northern Georgia, Tennessee, along the Cumberland River in Kentucky, and a few elsewhere. In some cases, thousands of these cysts were set close together in one cemetery, and a hundred or more in different layers in a single burial-mound. One grave may contain from one to twenty skeletons. The finding of the bones of children in little boxes only a few inches long has given rise to the notion of an ancient race of American pigmies.

Stone Grave

The Third Type

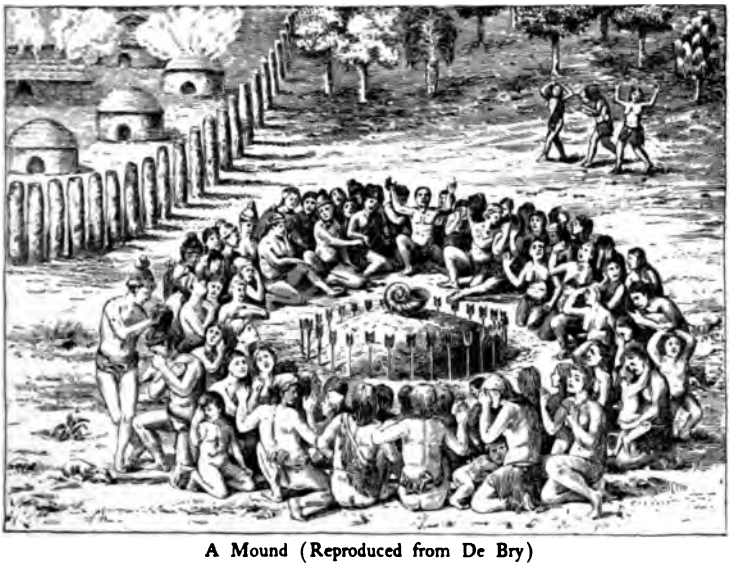
Ancient cemeteries of a third great type are found in southwestern California, and on the Santa Barbara Islands opposite. On these islands, the subsoil is extremely hard, and the dead were, therefore, buried in the refuse-heaps of shells, bones, rocks, and flint chips, the only easily available material that the winds could not blow away—an excellent example of the influence of environment upon human customs and activities. In these graves were found mortars of stone, beautiful cooking-vessels of soapstone, pipes, sculptures, musical instruments, textile fabrics, paint, fish-hooks, beads of shell, chipped weapons, and tools of rare delicacy. In some graves were found glass bottles, brass buttons and kettles, and other objects of European origin, clearly showing that these particular graves were not prehistoric.

A Sepulchral Urn

The Fourth Type

Numerous examples of urn-burials have been found by Mr. Moore in Georgia, Alabama, and in northwest Florida, while General Thruston, in his *Antiquities of Tennessee*, tells of the

skeleton of a child buried in a quadrangular receptacle of earthenware. In no section of the country was the urn-burial exclusively used; inclosed remains were often found side by side with remains that were uninclosed. These urn-burials were of various forms, sometimes differing according to locality. In one section, lone skulls, or single skulls with a few fragments of bone, were covered with inverted bowls. In some cases, fragments of calcined human bones were placed on the sand and covered with inverted urns. In other cases, the urns were filled with bits of calcined bones, some of the urns being covered with inverted vessels while some were left uncovered. In still other cases, single skeletons were carefully taken apart and packed in urns with or without covers. Plural burials of this type have been occasionally found. In one instance, the bones of five infants were packed away in a single urn. In an unique case cited by Mr.



A Mound (Reproduced from De Bry)

Moore, the upper half of the skeleton of a woman was carefully stowed away with relics in an oblong, earthen receptacle, beneath which was the rest of the skeleton.

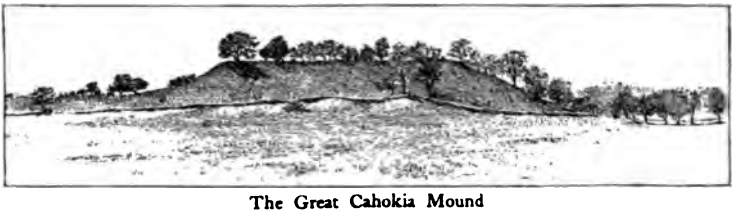
(*d*) To ascertain or to understand the historical value

Prehistoric Mounds

of the ancient mounds found in various parts of the United States, one must give careful consideration to the materials of which they are composed, their external form, internal structure, grouping, geographical distribution, and contained relics—all in connection with the domestic life and mortuary customs of historical Indian tribes, and the changes in environment so far as they can be ascertained. In most cases, the builders of the mounds used such materials as were at hand. Among the mountains, piles of stone were found; on the prairies, the rich surface-soil was used. Most of the mounds are of simple construction; but strata of clay, sand, or boulders that must have been carried considerable distances and with great labor, often alternate with layers of burned clay and surface-soil in mounds of elaborate construction.

Mound Form

The external form of the mound depended, doubtless, somewhat on its function and internal structure, but



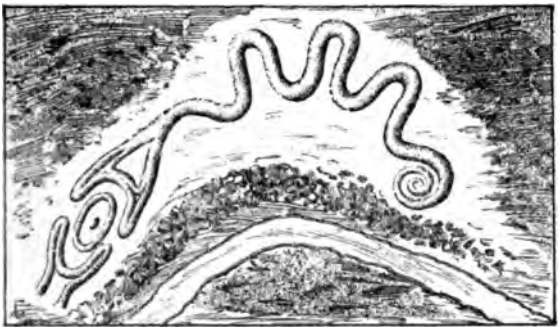
The Great Cahokia Mound

there are certain diversities according to which they may be arranged fairly well into geographical districts. A common form is the rounded heap or tumulus, examples of which vary from a few to hundreds of feet in diameter, and from two to sixty or more feet in height. Others were laid out in predetermined geometrical shapes, such as truncated pyramids and cones, with terraced flanks, graded ways, and connecting banks. The grandest of these in the United States is the Great Cahokia mound at East Saint Louis, Illinois. Standing in a group of sixty mounds of unusual size, it covers an area of about ten acres, and rises to a height of about a hundred feet.

Effigy Mounds

Scattered over the southern half of Wisconsin, and in the neighboring portions of Iowa and Illinois, are many

"effigy mounds." For the most part they are heaps of surface-soil and subsoil, in the shape of animals common in their respective localities. They are not known to contain human bones or relics. Their motive is enigmatical, and probably lies in their external form and grouping. The example of this class that has excited the most discussion is the Serpent mound on Brush Creek in Adams County, Ohio. It is a bank of earth following a gracefully curved line several hundred feet long, and looking like a snake in motion. In front of the open mouth of the serpent is an elliptical mound.

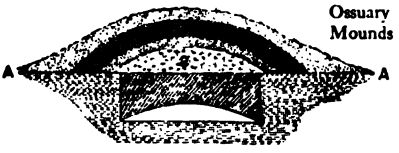


The Serpent Mound

The internal structure of most of the mounds seems to have been determined by some central object, the thing for which the mound itself existed. This may be a skeleton, a group of skeletons, or a mass of baked clay, called an altar. Tumuli of external similarity exhibit great internal diversity. Some were so systematically built that a cross-section suggests a half-peach or plum with an outer skin of grass or turf, a layer of soil, a hard shell of stone or burned clay, and a central cyst or altar with human or other relics. Of the almost interminable variety of structure, only a few can be noted here.

Mound Structure

The accompanying figure represents a vertical section of an ossuary mound in Crawford County, Wisconsin, opened in 1882. Below the original surface of the ground was a pit three feet deep and six feet in

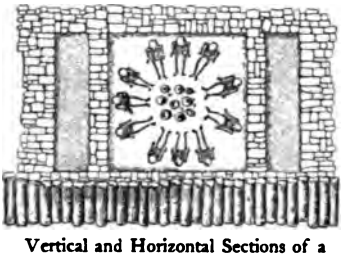


Section of an Ossuary Mound
(The line *A A* represents the original surface of the ground)

diameter. The bottom of this pit was covered with an inch of fine chocolate-colored dust. Then came a cavity a foot high in the center, over which the sand-filling was arched. Above the sand and on the level of the surface-soil was a little mound in which were found the bones of fifteen or twenty persons, in a heap without order or arrangement. Mingled with the bones were charcoal and ashes. The bones were charred, and some were glazed with melted sand. Above this mound (marked *2* in the figure) were a layer of clay or mortar mixed with sand and burned to a brick-red color, and another layer two feet thick and composed of calcined human bones, mingled with charcoal, ashes, and a reddish-brown mortar-like substance burned as hard as pavement brick. Above this was the external layer of soil and sand about a foot thick.

Section of a Burial-mound

A burial-mound on the bank of the Mississippi River near Davenport, Iowa, shows a like stratified structure. Beneath successive layers of earth and stone was a nucleus in which were found skulls (and fragments of bones) lying in a semicircle and each surrounded by a circle of small stones. From the position of the skulls and bones, it was evident that these bodies had been buried in a sitting posture. Accompanying the skeletons were two copper axes, two small hemispheres of copper and one of silver, a bear's tooth, and an arrow-head. There was no evidence of the use of fire in the burial ceremonies. All of the mounds of the group to which this belongs are conical and of comparatively small size, varying from three to eight feet in height.


Vertical and Horizontal Sections of a Burial-mound

The East Dubuque Mound

The marked feature of a group of mounds on the bluff that overhangs East Dubuque, Illinois, is one sixty-five feet in diameter, ten feet high, and remarkably symmetrical. At a depth of six feet, a rectangular vault or crypt was found, with sandstone walls three feet high. Cross-walls cut off a narrow chamber at each end, leaving a main central chamber seven feet square. In this chamber were found the skeletons of five children and six adults. Apparently, they had been buried at one time, arranged in a circle, and sitting against the walls. In the center was a drinking-cup made from a shell, and numerous fragments of pottery. The covering of the crypt was of oak logs. Over the whole was spread layer after layer of mortar containing lime, each succeeding layer harder and thicker than that which preceded it, a foot or so of ordinary soil completing the mound. The timber-covered vault and other resemblances between the mounds of this group and others found in Ohio "seem to indicate relationship, contact, or intercourse between the people who were the authors of these different structures."

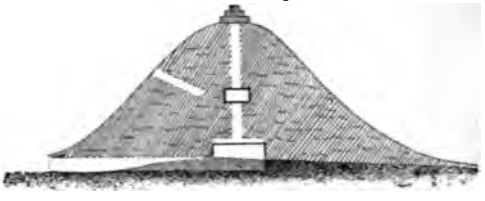
The "Royal" Goblet

This is not the only case where shell-cups have been found in ancient mounds, and calls to mind the Le Moyne figure copied from De Bry (page 35). About three hundred years ago, Le Moyne remarked: "Sometimes the deceased king of this province is buried with great solemnity, and his great cup from which he was accustomed to drink is placed on a tumulus with many arrows set about it." Dr. Thomas thinks it "quite probable that Le Moyne figures the mound at the time it reached the point where the shell-cup was to be deposited, when, in all likelihood, certain ceremonies were to be observed and a pause in the work occurred."

The Grave Creek Mound

The celebrated Grave Creek mound in West Virginia is in the form of a cone, about seventy feet high and nearly three hundred feet in diameter at the base. A shaft sunk from the apex to the base disclosed two wooden vaults. The upper vault was about half-way down the shaft and contained a single skeleton, decorated

with a profusion of shell-beads, copper bracelets, and plates of mica. The other vault was rectangular, twelve by eight feet, seven feet high, and partly in an excavation made in the natural ground. Along each side and across the ends were upright timbers that supported other timbers that served as a cover for the vault. In this vault were two human skeletons, one of which had no ornaments, while the other was surrounded by hundreds of shell-beads. Around this vault ten other skeletons were found, and at a distance of twelve or fifteen feet, several masses of charcoal or burned bones.



View and Section of the Grave Creek Mound

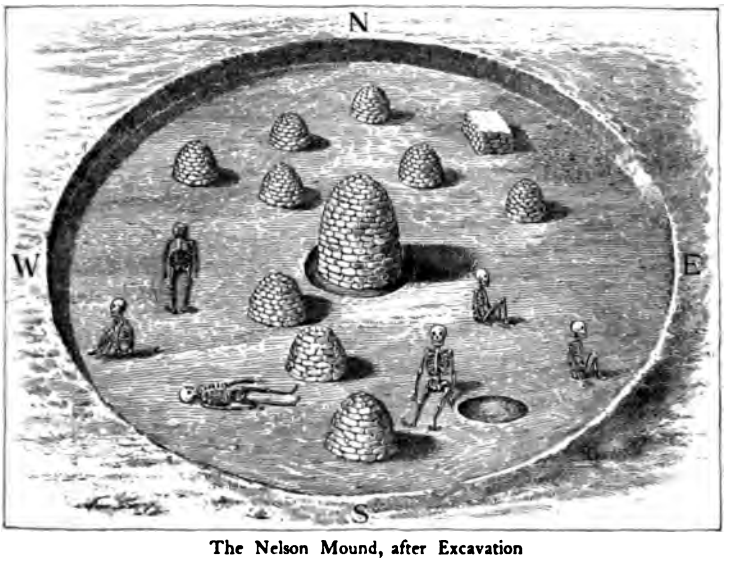
The Cherokee Ancestry

Dr. Thomas says that "one important result of the explorations in this northern section of the United States is the conviction that there was, during the mound-building age, a powerful tribe or association of closely allied tribes occupying the valley of the Ohio, whose chief seats were in the Kanawha, Scioto, and Little Miami valleys," that all the works of these localities are relatively contemporaneous, and "that the Cherokees are the modern representatives of the Tallegwi, and that most of the typical works of Ohio and West Virginia owe their origin to this people."

In the Appalachian district (consisting chiefly of

The Appalachian Mounds

southwestern Virginia, western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and the southeastern part of Kentucky) is a class of burial-mounds that differ in several important respects from any that we have yet mentioned. One of these, called the Nelson mound, near the Yadkin River in Caldwell County, North Carolina, was an almost true circle, thirty-eight feet in diameter and not more than eighteen inches in height. Excavation showed that a circular pit had been dug three feet deep, and that the dead had been deposited and then covered with earth. Walled graves or vaults and an altar-shaped structure



The Nelson Mound, after Excavation

were built of water-worn boulders and clay. A circular hole three feet deep and three feet in diameter had been dug at the center of the large pit. In this smaller pit, a skeleton had been placed upright on his feet and surrounded by a stone wall that was narrowed toward the top and covered with a single stone of moderate size. On the top of the head of the skeleton were found several plates of silver mica. The bones of the skeleton were held in position by the earth with which the vault was filled as the latter was built up.

Each of nine similar and smaller vaults contained a skeleton in a sitting posture. Implements of polished stone were found in some of these graves. Four uninclosed skeletons in squatting postures were found with their faces turned away from the one in the central crypt. One of these was of unusual size. Two uninclosed skeletons lay at full length, and with them were found pieces of soapstone pipes and other relics. The altar-shaped mass of water-worn boulders gave no indications of fire on it or around it, but many of the stones of the vaults and the earth immediately around them bore unmistakable evidences of fire. Small pieces of pottery and charcoal were scattered through the earth that filled the pit, the bottom and sides of which were so distinctly marked that they could be traced without difficulty.

Mound Grouping

The location and grouping of the mounds offer wide diversities. Single mounds are found on the banks of streams, on their terraces, and on high eminences, in forests and in open fields; but those that kindle the liveliest interest are found in groups, with or without inclosing embankments, and especially in the central region of the United States. In some of these groups, each mound has an evident relation to some other mound; in other cases, the mounds seem to be subsidiary to earth-walls; and in still others, the individual mounds form parts of a general system. The bluff mounds, associated for long distances along the rivers, may have served as signal-stations for giving notice of approaching danger or of the movements of game. The pyramidal mounds generally occur in groups as though they were parts of a social system, serving as residences for neighboring clans, or as places for the ceremonials of a complicated service. Some of these relations will appear more clearly further on.

Geographical Distribution

The geographical distribution of the mounds is very uneven, their abundance here and their rarity there being apparently determined by the density and the fixedness of the ancient population, by the climate, by the character of the soil, and by tribal or national idiosyncrasies.

The most noteworthy of these remains lie south of the forty-fifth parallel, and between the eightieth and the ninety-fifth meridians. Excepting those of Florida, nearly all of the mounds lie in the drainage systems of the great lakes and of the Gulf of Mexico.

Mound Relics

"Relics" are the objects found in the mounds, as distinguished from the structural parts of the mounds. They include charred food, pottery, chipped and polished stone implements, pipes, plummets, discoidal and ceremonial stones, rude sculptures, personal ornaments, animal tissue, textile material, etc. Some of these relics are very interesting; e.g., the vase found by Clarence B. Moore, one of the most successful archæological explorers within the area of the United States. On one side of the vessel, which is of excellent red ware and about eight inches in height, is a raised human figure standing with back turned to the observer and grasping the rim of the vessel with both hands. The other side shows the head and face looking across the rectangular aperture. A brief consideration of the technical aspects of mound relics will be found in a later part of this chapter. The laying out of archæological districts was governed largely by the classification of such relics.

Vase from Florida

Significance of the Diversity

The indications thus given suggest that the languages and industries of the mound-builders of the United States were as diversified as were those of the Indians first found in the same areas. Whether these relics, by their diversity of form and quality of workmanship, entitle the mound-builders to a higher rank in skill and civilization than that of the historical Indians, is a question that has given rise to bitter controversy. The satisfactory study of the problem has been much embarrassed by the difficulty of separating the relics of the earlier of the Indians from the relics of the later of the mound-builders who preceded them, by the changes in art and industry brought about by the early contact of the American

Indians with Europeans, and by the lamentable want of exactness and impartiality shown by many who have written on the subject.

Earthworks

(*e*) The term "earthwork" applies to all artificial embankments of the surface-soil, of stones and earth combined, or of burned clay. These works inclose areas varying from one to many acres, and are variously classified: according to the materials of which they were made—as earthworks, stone forts, stone walls, etc.; according to their forms—as circles, octagons, parallel banks, trench-banks, geometric works, contour works, etc.; and according to their supposed functions—as fortifications, village inclosures, cemeteries, and ceremonial inclosures. Each of these classes exhibits a wide range of elaboration. The most elaborate consist of walls and trenches combined in almost every conceivable way. The remains of ancient stockades are common in all parts of the United States, but the works of more elaborate design are most numerous and imposing in the northern and southern central states, in New York, Arkansas, and southeastern Missouri. These works of elaborate design are of two kinds: "defensive works," built on bluffs or on tongues of elevated land, flanked by ravines; and "sacred inclosures," built on level plains and conforming more or less closely to common geometrical figures or to combinations thereof.

Fort Ancient

Of these defensive earthworks, the strongest and the most important is that known as Fort Ancient. This crowning effort of the pre-Columbian military engineers is in Warren County, Ohio. It lies upon the edge of a broad plateau, two hundred and ninety-one feet above the low-water level of the Little Miami River which flows along the base of its western slope. An area of about a hundred and twenty-six acres is inclosed by walls nearly four miles long. The embankments consist chiefly of earth, reinforced here and there by stone, and resemble somewhat the heavy grading of a railway-bed.

The position is one of great natural strength, a tongue of land being flanked by two ravines that enter

Prehistoric Military Engineering

the river, one above the fort and the other below it. On the western side, next the river, the descent is precipitous. The embankment was carried along the very edge of the hill, reaching outward to pass around the spurs and then leading inward to avoid the gullies. The wall varies from four to thirty-three feet in height and has an average thickness of forty or fifty feet. At all the more easily accessible points, the defenses show increased strength. Toward the east the plateau is slightly rolling, and on that side the embankment is very massive, exceeding twenty feet in height. At this point, the moat or ditch is external to the wall; elsewhere, it is within.

Then and Now

At the time of the occupancy of the fort by the people who built it, the walls probably averaged twenty feet in height and were surmounted by strong palisades. Today, one may stand upon the wall at almost any point and look downward for two or three hundred feet, over ground so steep that it could be traversed from below only with extreme difficulty. Supplies of stones of sizes suitable for throwing are found at many points upon the walls where they might be used with good effect upon an enemy coming up the steep sides of the ravines. In the southern part of this inclosure (called the Old Fort) is a village site, part of which was used as a cemetery. This site is still plainly

Map of Fort Ancient

marked by pottery fragments, animal bones, flint chips, etc. In the cemetery were found more than two hundred skeletons incased in graves neatly made of limestone slabs.

A Prehistoric Battle-field

On many of the hillsides, especially around the Old Fort, and a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet from the walls above, are artificial terraces from fifteen to thirty feet wide. They have the appearance of roads so long abandoned that underbrush and great trees have grown upon them. These terraces are marked by stone-heaps, graves, ash-heaps, and camp sites; their use has long been a matter of conjecture. Noteworthy diversities of burial, pottery, etc., and cranial differences indicate that the people whose remains are found on these terraces were not of the same tribe as were those who dwelt within the walls. There is much to imply that the assailants met with a disastrous defeat at the hands of the builders and defenders of Fort Ancient. "When we consider that the Miami valley contains a great many village sites, mounds, and small inclosures, and that Fort Ancient is the only really strong position of them all, we can readily believe that the aborigines, for a radius of thirty or forty miles, would flock to this rendezvous and use it as a common fortification."

Age of Fort Ancient

As to the age of Fort Ancient there is little evidence other than that two forests have grown upon its embankments. How much its age exceeds four hundred years no one knows. Many more than two successive forests "may have sprung into life, fallen, decayed, and passed away since the last" of the builders of this ancient Gibraltar vanished from the valley of the Miami. Time has dealt gently with the ancient stronghold and the walls are still in fairly good condition. The property now belongs to the state and some provision is made for its care. Important defensive earthworks are also found in southeast Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Wisconsin, and various other localities.

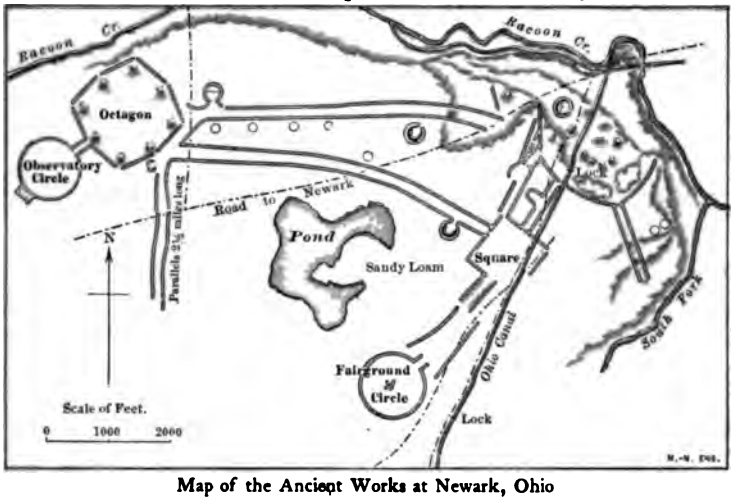
Ceremonial Inclosures

The so-called sacred or ceremonial inclosures occur in great numbers and with great variety of size and

complexity. The most simple form is that of a ring, as nearly round as the crude appliances of the builders enabled. The more complex forms consist of combinations of rings, quadrangles, polygons, graded ways, parallel banks, ditches, pyramids, mounds, etc. The most important of these are found near the southward flowing streams of Ohio.

The Newark Works

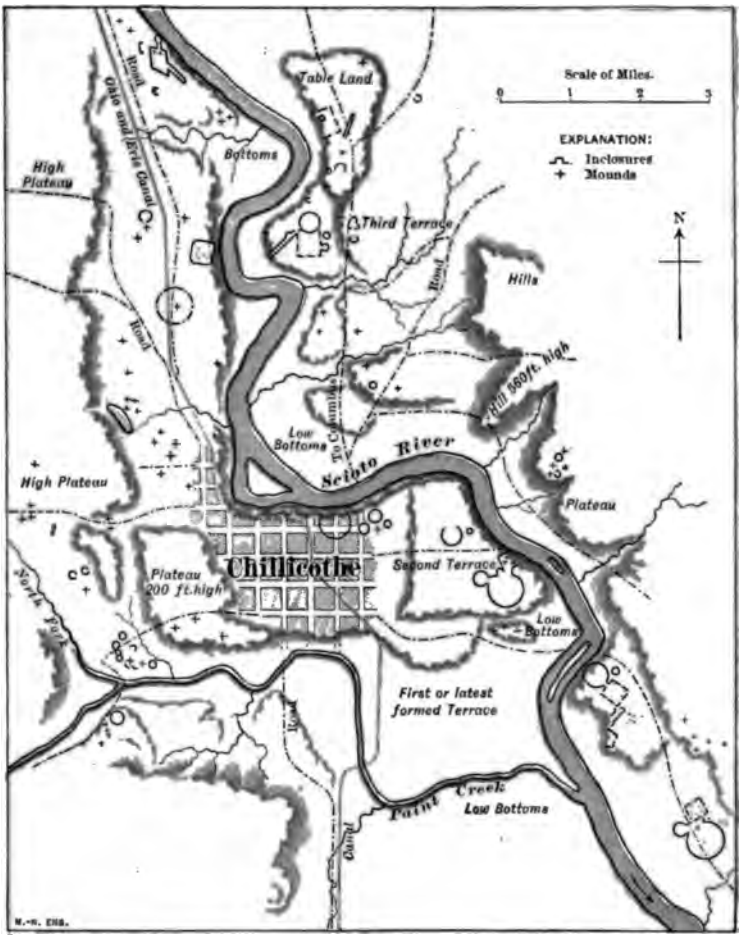
Perhaps the most extensive is the group known as the Newark works, which occupies an area nearly two miles



Map of the Ancient Works at Newark, Ohio

square on a slightly elevated plain at the junction of the South and the Raccoon forks of the Licking River, about a mile west of Newark, Ohio. The large inclosure at the southern extremity of the group receives its name from the fact that it embraces the fair-grounds of the Licking County agricultural society. Uninjured by the plow, and with its primeval trees still standing, it is one of the best preserved of the ancient monuments of the country. It is nearly a true circle. The wall varies in width from thirty-five to fifty-five feet, and in height from five to fourteen feet. At the entrance to the circle, the wall curves outward, leaving a passage eighty feet wide. The ditch on the interior of the wall varies in width from twenty-eight to forty-one feet, and in depth from eight

to thirteen feet. The smaller circular inclosure at the western extremity of the group approaches even more nearly to a geometric form, and has a diameter of about



Map Showing Some of the Ancient Works of the Scioto Valley, Ohio

a thousand and fifty feet. The average height of the walls is between four and five feet. At a point opposite the entrance is a crown-work. As this mound is higher than the embankment, it has been called the Observatory. Parallel walls run from the Observatory Circle to the

Octagon, which shows a close approach to geometric regularity. At each angle is a gateway covered by a truncated pyramidal mound within the inclosure. Extending between the walls of the northern parallel for a quarter of a mile is an embankment broad enough for fifty persons to walk abreast. South of this another parallel leads from the Octagon to the Square on the east side of the works. The walls of these parallels do not exceed four feet in height. The nearly perfect Square connects by a broken line of parallels with the Fair-ground Circle. The parallel shown at the extreme right of the map forms a "graded way." The map shows other features that must be passed over in this description with the single suggestion that the small circles may have been the sites of circular buildings.

In the Scioto Valley

The remarkable extent and frequency of these ancient works may be inferred from the accompanying map of a section of twelve miles of the valley of the Scioto River in Ohio. It is certain that these inclosures were not designed as defensive works, and probable that they were not used exclusively for formal worship. If so disposed, one may easily see in them the fair-grounds, the plazas, and the athletic parks of an aboriginal people, and, with the aid of the "scientific imagination," reproduce the ball games, tribal initiations, festivals of the seasons, religious rites, and all the pomp and parade of an ancient community.

Prehistoric Quarries

(*f*) The surface of the soil and the beds of shallow streams supplied the primitive stone-worker with what he needed for his coarsest work; he simply helped himself without the aid of quarrying-tools. But surface and stream fragments were not the best material for many of his purposes; rocks *in situ* and in boulder-beds are more tractable than surface finds or brook pebbles. Hence the pre-Columbian Indians made excavations many feet in depth until they reached the choicest beds that their peculiar mechanical instincts enabled them to recognize. When such a bed was found it was worked until it was exhausted. These quarries cover areas vary-

ing from a few acres to several square miles in extent. In one place in Arkansas more than a hundred thousand cubic yards of stone were removed and worked over.

Means and Methods

The appliances for quarry work were very primitive. The ancient quarrymen made use of fire and water; stone in natural and artificial forms served for mauls and hammers; hardwood, antler, bone, and shell furnished picks and chisels, wedges, hoes, crowbars, etc. To secure the greatest quantity of the best material in the most compact form and in the shortest time, the modern shipwright hews timbers in the forest and leaves the chips behind to save the freight; the pre-Columbian mechanic solved a similar problem in a similar way, and thus reduced the burdens of the women who bore the half-shaped pieces from the quarry to the workshop nearer home. The abundance of relics in different stages of manufacture found upon those workhouse sites have enabled the archæologist to reproduce most of the industrial processes of this ancient industry.

Quarry Products

Steatite was quarried in Rhode Island and Connecticut, slate, granite, porphyry, greenstone, and quartz in Vermont and the Champlain valley, jasper in Pennsylvania, and serpentine (a much coveted material for pipes) in the Alleghanies. There is a belief that wells were sunk and petroleum collected. Mica mines were worked in the mountains of western North Carolina, and soapstone was worked in northern Alabama. At Flint Ridge, Licking County, Ohio, is a ledge of pink and bluish agate to which, from time immemorial, the aborigines resorted for the material for their weapons and cutlery. The excavations and the refuse-heaps at this place cover many square miles, and hammer-stones and broken blades abound. The honestone (novaculite) quarries of Arkansas offer the most extensive ancient diggings yet found in the United States.

Salt and Copper

The saline waters of Illinois were evaporated to form salt, and the copper mines of Michigan were worked long before the coming of the white man. In one case, a mass of nearly pure copper weighing more than

six tons had been raised several feet along the bottom of the pit by means of wedges and hammers, and, when found, was resting upon a cob-work of round logs six to eight inches in diameter. The arboreal and other evidences carry back the time when these copper mines were worked at least to a period corresponding to Europe's medieval era. The metal-producing Americans of that day were prospectors or surface explorers; they did not work underground.

Art and Commerce

One of the most celebrated sources of material for aboriginal art is the vast deposit of indurated red clay (catlinite) at Coteau des Prairies in southwestern Minnesota. This ledge was worked in prehistoric times, and the ancient pits may be traced in a narrow belt for nearly a mile across the prairie, following the outcrop of the mineral. To the present time, the Siouan tribes make annual pilgrimages to this shrine of the ceremonial pipe, where the men block out the stone and the women tend the camp-fires—a survival of ancient practice for modern observation. In many of the mounds, especially those of Ohio, obsidian, pipestone, mica, and copper have been found hundreds of miles from their native sources. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these substances were quarried with great care, bartered from tribe to tribe, and finally deposited with the dead.

Hydrotechny

(*g*) Examples of the artificial storage of water by the prehistoric Americans are rare in the eastern parts of the United States. The mound-builders excavated ponds and led thither water from springs, and ancient canals are found in Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas. In the southwestern states and territories the aborigines built dams, dug ditches, stored water, and used it for irrigation. The arable tract of the Salado River, a tributary of the Gila, comprises nearly half a million acres, and the watering of fully half of it was controlled by canals. The outlines of a hundred and fifty miles of ancient irrigating ditches may be readily traced, and some of them meander fourteen miles from their source. In recent years, as pointed out by Mr. Hodge, the con-

querors of the pueblo people have learned to imitate this wise policy of making the water-supply of vast areas independent of the climate.

Corn-hills and Garden-beds

(*h*) Evidences of prehistoric agriculture are found in widely separated parts of the country. In several parts of New York, large corn-hills remained until a recent period. They were much larger than those used by the whites; each small mound contained several hills and was used for many years successively. So-called garden-beds are found in southwest Michigan and other states. They consist of ridges of earth, often parallel, and with paths between them, and are distinguished from the corn-fields further east chiefly by their symmetrical arrangement and regularity of outline. In one example, at Kalamazoo, the rows were laid out in the form of a wheel with twenty-four spokes. The ridges vary from five to sixteen feet in width, from twelve to a hundred feet in length, and from six to eighteen inches in height. They have yielded no relics, and the question of their origin is still a subject for study or conjecture. The arboreal evidence indicates that they antedate the early French exploration of that region. Somewhat similar traces occur in the ancient pueblo region of the southwest, and modern agricultural Indians (the Pimas) declare the inclosures to be ancient gardens.

Trails and Transportation

(*i*) The ancient carriers of the United States had no beast of burden other than the dog, and made little or no use of wheeled vehicles. The commerce of the continent was borne upon the backs of men and women, and trails or paths worn in the earth and rock by weary feet were the precursors of the modern road and railway. These trails formed a mighty network spread over the continent and many of them became the pathways of the pioneer and the highways of a later civilization. Long voyages were made by lake and river and even by canal. An aboriginal Marco Polo might have paddled southward from our most northern boundary through the great lakes, leaving the inland seas at the point where Cleveland stands, going up the river to its most southern

point, bearing his canoe on his back eight miles across the famous "Cuyahoga portage" to the most northern point of the Tuscarawas River, and thence floating easily down the waters of the Muskingum, the Ohio, and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Before the coming of the European this portage formed the boundary between the Iroquois and the western tribes, and part of it is a traveled highway to this day. Among other well-known portages were those now known as the Chicago, the Fox-Wisconsin, the Saint Joseph, and the Chautauqua. Associated with these routes of ancient commerce are the rock-inscriptions, blazed trees, staked plains, stone-heaps, and other devices for keeping the aboriginal traveler in the path he ought to follow.

Industrial Tools and Products

(*j*) The still existing tools and products of ancient aboriginal industries in the United States constitute a large part of the records from which we may study the arts and culture of those who used or made them. As we look upon these ancient relics, whether they were implements, utensils, weapons, or ornaments, we should remember that, in most cases, they are mere fragments of the originals, the missing parts of which have been removed by use or decay. The complete "restoration" is often made possible by patient comparison with similar tools or products of modern Indians. These relics of the mounds may be divided into two classes—those the uses and methods of manufacture of which are known, and those the function or the making of which the modern savage does not understand. The former class helps us to a knowledge of the culture-status of the maker or user; the latter class has flooded archæology with conjecture. If every relic belonged to the first class, there would be no doubt of the racial identity of the mound-builders with the modern Indians.

Chipped Celt

Chipped Stone Products

The principal relics found in the United States are of stone. The industrial stones are silicious or granular, and the objects made from them are accord-

ingly classified as chipped stones, or as pecked or ground stones. The chipping of stone produced arrow-points, spear-heads, knives and saws, as well as other implements for the early American furriers and fishermen, basket-makers, farmers, surgeons, and warriors. These chipped implements, many of which closely resemble the paleolithic implements, although they are of better finish, were made of the flinty rock of the neighborhood in which they are found. Each tribe seems to have had its own knack of doing its work, and some of the products were so delicate and beautiful that they well might have been, and perhaps were, exalted above the drudgeries of industry into the region of art or ceremony.

Pecked Stone Products

The art of battering, abrading, cutting, and polishing stone had a large application in all parts of the country, and seems to have run through an interesting gamut of processes. Innumerable stone hammers, celts, axes, mortars and pestles, cups and pots, plummets, disks, and pipes were thus made. Each class of these objects has a geographical distribution depending upon the sources of the materials and upon the course of ancient commerce. Among these neolithic objects are certain enigmas, forms that the American Indians have never been seen to use or to manufacture. Some of them required much skill and labor to work into their present forms, and are chiefly interesting to us for that reason. Judging from the number of pipes found in mounds and graves, the ancient inhabitants of the Mississippi valley must have been sturdy smokers. The bust shown in the accompanying figure was carved from a coarse marble and found in one of the mounds of the Etowah group in Georgia.

Grooved Ax

The Etowah Bust

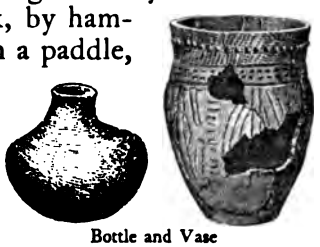
Ceramics

Specimens of ancient pottery are found in a limited

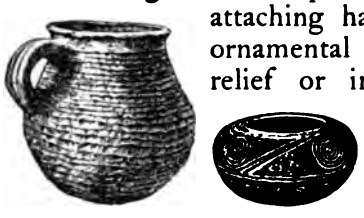
part of western Alaska, along the northern tier of states from Minnesota eastward, and down the Atlantic coast. The mounds of the middle Mississippi valley have been prolific of a plain but excellent ware, the gulf states yield still another type, but the most delicate and beautiful examples of prehistoric ceramic art yet recovered have come from the village sites of Arizona and New Mexico. Still further southwest, about the lower Gila drainage, elegant forms of plain red pottery are found.

Pottery Processes

The vessel was built up by coiling a cylindrical roll of properly prepared clay, by molding the clay over or in some hard object or in network, by hammering the wet malleable clay with a paddle, or by free-hand modeling. After the preliminary process, the vessel was sometimes improved by polishing off the tracings of the coil and the marks of fingers and tools, by the addition of a wash of various colors, by pressing strings, textiles, nets, tools, or stamps into the soft surface, by painting the surface in geometrical, pictorial, or symbolic designs, by attaching handles and other useful or ornamental parts, or by decorating in relief or intaglio. The burning was done in open fires. In this process the vessels assumed a color depending upon the constituents of the clay. No vitreous glazing was attempted and none produced except by accident. The art flourished in its greatest purity and exaltation before the Spanish conquest of New Mexico. As a rule, the social system of the tribes was modified, and the arts that pertained especially to women, as did basketry and pottery, were degraded by the coming of the conquerors or they were entirely abandoned.



Bottle and Vase



Mug and Bowl

Metallurgy

Speaking in the modern sense, the prehistoric Indians

of the United States were not metallurgists. Their iron objects are merely bits of iron ore, treated as stone of like texture. They seem to have had no knowledge of working metal except by pounding or grinding it cold. No one has found any ancient metallurgic workshop or any remains that indicate the former existence of one. But when they found a metal like copper, capable of being wrought and fashioned without smelting or molding, its use was perfectly compatible with the simple arts of the stone period. The chemical analyses of many copper relics found by Mr. Moore in the aboriginal mounds of Georgia and Florida strongly corroborate the opinion, generally held by American archæologists, that this copper is of American provenience and was worked by hammering with primitive tools. There was in Europe no supply of native (i.e., unsmelted) copper sufficient for commercial purposes, and the material of these relics is much purer than any of the copper produced from European ores by the rude processes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The finest specimens of artistic copper-working have been found in the Etowah mounds of Georgia, in the Turner and the Hopewell groups of mounds in Ohio, and to a limited extent in Florida. Some of these objects carry suggestions of the gaudy Aztec warrior attire, and the bandages on the arms and legs seem to give hints of the early wooden sculptures of the Bahamas and the Greater Antilles; but one who has seen a Seminole chief in full dress need not go so far afield for the motive for these copper plates. Some silver and a little gold have been found in the Ohio mounds.

Charred Fabric

The textile fabrics of the ancient tribes of the United States have been preserved by charring, by contact with copper relics the salts of which arrest decay, by the preservative salts

of burial-caves, by impressions left upon pottery, and by the arid climate of the Southwest. The charred specimens recovered from the mounds of the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi are made of two-ply cord or twisted filaments, in plain or diagonal patterns, in close or open work, and have a marked resemblance to the styles of Indian weaving found along the borders of the great lakes, and along the north Pacific Coast as far as the Aleutian Islands.

Cloth, Moccasins, and Matting

Examples of prehistoric cloth that had been wrapped around copper implements or beads or other objects have been found in all the central and southern states from Georgia to Iowa, and are common objects in museums. Reports of the discovery of textile fabrics in caverns and shelters began to find their way into print at an early date in the history of the country, and the supply of such material available for study is extensive. The accompanying figure represents a neatly plaited moccasin found in a cave in Kentucky. One of the most interesting specimens of this class of fabrics is a fragment of ancient split-cane matting, obtained from Petite Anse Island, off the southern coast of Louisiana. It was found near the surface of the salt-bed, fourteen feet below the surface of the soil, and two feet below the fossil remains of an elephant, thus suggesting the existence of man on the island prior to the deposit of the fossil in the soil. The material consists of the outer bark of the common southern cane, and has been preserved for so long a period both by its silicious character and the strongly saline condition of the soil.

Moccasin

Decorative Art

In all ages and countries, textiles have furnished motives for the decoration of pottery. The desired results were secured by simply pressing cords into the soft clay in geometric patterns, by pressing a net or piece of cloth upon the soft surface, or perhaps by making up

the vessel in a cloth or network. When the vessel was burned, the most delicate marks were fixed. There is not a state within the Mississippi and Atlantic drainage basins that does not furnish some example of the preservation of native fabric impressions on earthenware. The largest and most varied collections of these ancient fabrics have been found in the cliff-dwellings of the Southwest, and in the ruins of ancient pueblos, where the arid climate has aided in their preservation. The cliff and cavate lodges on the Rio San Juan, where Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico join, disclose all the varieties of textiles known to the modern Indians, and more. As to material, there is no difference between the basketry and textiles of the American Indians of the present time and those of the most ancient people that dwelt on the same area. If the ancient artisans possessed implements for weaving and plaiting, no traces of those implements have come down to us. All twisting of filaments seems to have been done by hand; none of these prehistoric fabrics is fine enough to indicate the use of the spindle.

Fabric-marked Vase

Pictographs

(*k*) In every state of the Union are found figures of men and beasts, and marks that seem to be hieroglyphic, carved by ancient Americans on cliffs and boulders and on stones specially prepared. In the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Col. Garrick Mallery has shown how to read many of these old etchings in the light of pictography and sign language as practised by modern Indians who have no other form of written records.

Burials

(*l*) Care for the dead has preserved for the living the best records of the past. It is not uncommon for an ethnologist, judging from the shape of bones before him, to affirm confidently that the man or woman in question was an Indian or differed from an Indian of today; or, judging from the special way in which the bones are placed in the sepulcher, that the dead belonged to this

tribe or to that; or, judging from the state of preservation of the bones, that they are, or are not, of great antiquity, and so on. In a great collection of crania, the expert may come to recognize certain types; but great caution should be used in drawing large conclusions from such data. The earth packed over the dead often modifies the form of the bones; in many cases it is not easy to decide whether the burial was original or intrusive; many tribes intentionally deformed the skulls of infants; the cradle-board modified the length and shape of the cranium; and different soils cause human skeletons to decay with unequal rapidity.

Interpretation of the Testimony

Reviewing all the testimony of the neolithic remains and relics in the United States, to what conclusions may we safely come regarding their antiquity and origin? The true method of interpretation is to place these witnesses side by side with similar forms in daily use among historic or still existing Indians. If the ancient forms agree with the modern, we shall be very likely to conclude that the two peoples were on equally elevated planes of culture. The stone, shell, and copper relics are only the enduring remnants of former weapons, tools, and products of industry, from which other parts have been taken by decay. With the knowledge that careful study of still lingering tribes has put at our command, we may generally restore these decayed parts, and thus bring back what the centuries have filched away. This is a well-established method of archæological study.

An Illustrative Method

Suppose that an Indian tribe now living or described in authentic history had settled not far from the Ohio River, built earth-circles and rectilinear figures, fortified terraces, buried their dead in mounds and with care, as the mound-builders of the Ohio district did; it would be a fair presumption that this tribe was descended from the builders of the ancient tumuli, or had been taught by them. If there are now living, or have lived in historic times, tribes with arts so nearly like those of the mound-builders that they convince us of relationship or contact, we may go to these tribes or to the records of them for

such assistance as they can give in the reconstruction of the daily life of this somewhat mysterious people. Unfortunately, civilization works such radical changes in aboriginal life that the force of such a lesson is somewhat weakened. If the builders of the Ohio mounds had been actively at work in 1492, they who explored the Mississippi valley a hundred years later might have been too late to come into contact with arts that were wholly aboriginal.

Rival Theories

There are two widely held and antagonistic opinions concerning the builders of these mounds. One school of archæologists insists that the mound-builders were far more cultured than any known North American Indians, that their earthworks were more complicated and better finished, that their arts of fashioning and polishing stone and of fabricating pottery, their agriculture and their architecture, were more advanced, and that their social and religious systems were of a higher order than were those of their successors. This theory leads up to the concept of an extinct civilization and a vanished race. The more modern school confidently insists that "there is nothing found in the mode of construction of these mounds nor in the vestiges of art they contain to indicate that their builders had reached a higher culture-status than that attained by some of the Indian tribes found occupying the country at the time of the arrival of the first Europeans."

Ethnologic Continuity

At no time in the history of any of the older nations of the world has the whole population been removed to give place to another altogether different. Continuity is the law of history, and it is difficult to believe that that law has been violated here. It is hardly conceivable that a race should come upon the stage, act its part, and go away to give place to another company of players with whom the first had naught to do. There were fifty distinct stock languages spoken at one time within the limits of the United States by Indians of the historic period, and the peoples using them differed from one another in forms of government, mythology, and arts. Some of the

stocks, as the Algonquian, the Iroquoian, the Athapascan, the Muskhogean, the Siouan, and the Shoshonean were spread over vast territories, while others, if they ever were numerous or widely diffused, had shrunk to mere handfuls before they were discovered by the historian. In every case, when their houses, furniture, tools, and weapons are placed side by side with those left by the people of long-ago, they correspond in a remarkable manner, and enable the student to reproduce the leading features of ancient American life without any other aid.

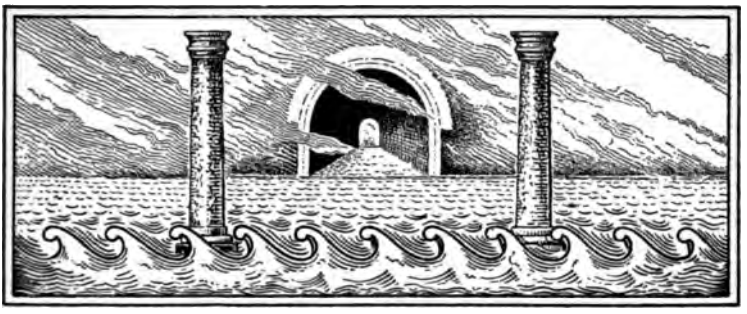
Whether the American aborigines were autochthonous, created on the western hemisphere, or whether they came from Asia across Bering Strait and the Aleutian chain, or whether they came from Polynesia to South America and migrated northward, or whether they came from Europe by way of Iceland, Greenland, and land bridges that are now submerged—it is not possible to trace, now and with certainty, the paths along which they were drawn or driven. It certainly took a long time to develop on the western hemisphere at least two hundred languages differing among themselves more widely than do those of Europe, so distinct that the words in each seem totally independent of those in any of the others. Furthermore, some of the older remains are covered with forest-trees more than six hundred years old, that have grown up since their sites were deserted by sedentary inhabitants. The different qualities of work in the remains and relics of the mound-builders certainly point to periods of political splendor and decay, or to violent conquests. In the eastern half of the United States, the climax, the Augustan age of the neolithic American, was reached by the mound-builders of the Ohio valley. The decadence of art had set in when the white men first visited that region. It is possible that the acquisition of iron and steel tools stimulated a brief renaissance, and that in the relics of this period we have the most elaborate specimens of the mound-builders' labor and skill. Like arts were flourishing to recent time in the southern states, and, to a certain extent, were practised elsewhere.

Whence?

When?

The Conclusion

There still remains a lamentable break between the prehistoric and the historic eras in the New World. Not many years ago, a distinguished antiquary and historian exclaimed: "We must give it up, that speechless past; . . . lost is lost, gone is gone forever." But modern scholarship is more hopeful; the veil is slowly lifting. Problems that a few years ago were thought to be insoluble "have been satisfactorily solved and have now become foundation-stones in the archæological structure." The evidence so far secured leads to the conclusion that the monuments of Mexico and Central America, as well as those of the mound-builders and the cliff-dwellers, are chiefly attributable to the ancestors of the people found in those regions by modern European discoverers and explorers. The discovery of articles of European manufacture in some of the mounds, under conditions that preclude any connection with intrusive burials, indicates that the custom of building mounds had not ceased at the time of the discovery of America as clearly as does the discovery of man-made implements in the glacial gravels that the credentials of the glacial American cannot be rejected.



CHAPTER III

MAZE AND MYTH

Post-Columbian Claims of Ante-Columbian Discovery

ON our hurried way into the firm paths of demonstrable history we pass into a field thickly strewn with bewildering fact and fancy. After Columbus had glorified Spain and Cabot had magnified England in ways of which we soon shall tell, it was to be expected that other nations would seek to gratify their pride by pointing out their own priority of honor. Thus Basque and Norman, Welsh and Irish, sun-tinted Italian and snow-bleached Scandinavian appear in the forum with Arabian and Chinese and attorneys for almost every race of eastern Asia, each claiming his share in the gift of a new world to the Old. The offered evidence is of varying worth. Little of it is of a character to carry conviction, and all of it has been disputed. Naturally enough, the claimants offer a multitude of inherent possibilities, some of which are made picturesque by accompanying probabilities. Moreover, there is something fascinating in fairy tales of travel that struck the imagination of our ancestors, and "a charm in any evidence which goes to show that Pliny and Polo and the author of Sindbad's voyages were not liars." Duty and pleasure thus detain us in this court of claims, antechamber of our labyrinth.

Phenician Discovery

Among these spectral images of discovery, we may first note a tradition that a Mediterranean people, passing the pillars of Hercules (i.e., sailing through the Strait of Gibraltar), were driven westward by a storm and heard

of no more. For some reason not recorded "it is thought that they reached the American coast." There are now in the museum of Rio de Janeiro certain brass tablets discovered in the northern part of Brazil and covered with Phenician inscriptions, doubtless forgeries, that tell of the discovery of America five centuries before Christ. It is also given as veritable history "that a farmer near Montevideo, South America, discovered in one of his fields, in 1827, a flat stone which bore strange and unknown characters; beneath this stone was a vault made of masonry in which were deposited two ancient swords, a helmet, and a shield." The inscription on the stone was translated as follows:

Grecian Discovery

During the dominion of Alexander, the son of Philip, King of Macedon, in the sixty-third Olympiad, Ptolemais.

"On the handle of one of the swords was a portrait, supposed to represent Alexander. The helmet had on it fine sculptured work, representing Achilles dragging the corpse of Hector around the walls of Troy. This would seem to point to an early Grecian discovery of America." But there is room for doubt.

Chinese Discovery, 499 A. D.

In 1761, it was announced to the European world that America had been discovered by the Chinese in the fifth century. The Chinese annals record that a Buddhist priest visited Fusang, a country far to the east. This priest found that the people there had already adopted the religion of Buddha, borne to them by five beggar monks twenty-nine years before. He told wonderful stories of the Fusang-tree, and recorded the fact that the oxen had horns of ten bushels capacity, and that they were used for holding household goods. This mendicant monk, or some other writer whose story was recorded in the same section of the Chinese book of antiquities, told of a country to the east of Fusang where all the people were women, where maternity was engendered by bathing in a certain river, and the children were nourished from a tuft of hair upon the shoulder. It has been held that Fusang was California or Mexico. The Chinese route

was actually laid down on the maps—a very common demonstration of such propositions.

Irish Discovery

But the nascent West need not pale its glory before that of the dead or dying Orient. There is a distinct class of Irish tales to the effect that highly civilized Irishmen came to America before Columbus or even the Northmen of whom we soon shall speak. They date from before the dawn of certain history. Part of this story relates that an Icelander, Are Marson, was shipwrecked on the coast of America in 983 or, according to another statement, in 928. This land was "White Men's Land," or "Great Ireland." It extended from New York to Florida, and was inhabited by a Christian people who baptized Are Marson and made him their chief. Unfortunately, the legend records the distance from Ireland to "White Men's Land" as only six days' sail toward the west.

The Froda Romance

The second chapter is more romantic. One Bjarni Asbrandson, famous as an Icelandic Falstaff and a daring viking, was forced into an agreement to go abroad and not to see his Thurid for a year. And so the viking went from home and neither man nor vessel was ever seen again in Iceland. Thirty years later, one Gudleif and his companions were driven westward by a storm and thrown upon an unknown coast. All were taken prisoners, bound, and carried inland. As the captives were surrounded by the natives, "it rather seemed to them that they spoke Irish." They were led before a white-haired chieftain who addressed them in their own tongue, and made particular inquiry concerning Thurid, her brother, and her son. As they were about to leave, the chieftain said: "If the fates permit you to come to your own country, then shall you take this sword to the yeoman Kjartan of Froda, but this ring to Thurid his mother. Say he sends them who loved the lady of Froda better than her brother, the priest of Helgafell." Then did Gudleif know that his protector was Bjarni Asbrandson. He did as he was bid, and gave the ring to Thurid and the sword to

Kjartan, the son of the chieftain of Hvitramannaland, or "White Men's Land." The renegade chieftain had let the captives go that his memory might once more be garlanded by the Thurid of his dreams.

Irish-American Colonization of Iceland

As a specimen of enthusiasm running riot, we make mere mention of the claim that Iceland was first peopled not from Europe but from Virginia and Carolina by Irishmen who had earlier migrated to America. Professor Tyndall remarks "that, when feeling escapes from behind the intellect, where it is a useful urging force, and places itself in front of the intellect, it is likely to produce glamour and all manner of delusions." More than this. We are assured that Saint Patrick preached the gospel in the "Isles of America;" but as he lived in the fifth century the occurrence of the word "America" in the story "casts a decidedly apocryphal hue over the otherwise gauzy fabric." There seems to be no end to the procession of enthusiasts who see overmuch in their studies of pre-Columbian discoveries.

Welsh Discovery

Ignoring for the moment the claims of Norse discovery, which would come next in chronological order, but which rest upon a better bottom, we cross Saint George's Channel from Ireland to Wales, the home of another story.

> Come listen to a tale of times of old,
> Come, for ye know me. I am he who sang
> The Maid of Arc, and I am he who framed
> Of Thalaba the wild and wondrous song.
> Come listen to my lay; and ye shall hear
> How Madoc from the shores of Britain spread
> The adventurous sail, explored the ocean-paths,
> And quelled barbarian power, and overthrew
> The bloody altars of idolatry.

Thus Southey introduces his *Madoc*, a learned and interesting poem that induced an American to denounce the poet for having "meditated a most serious injury against the reputation of the New World by attributing its discovery and colonization to a little vagabond Welsh prince."

The Madoc Legend

Owen Gwynnedd, the prince of North Wales and the father of seventeen sons and two daughters, died in 1169.

His oldest son, Iorwerth Drwyndwn (i.e., Edward with the broken nose), declined the scepter "because of the maime upon his face," and so the rule fell to his half-brother, Howel, "a base son begotten of an Irish woman." The next son, David, refused obedience to his bastard brother and appealed to arms. The still younger brother, Madoc, commander-in-chief of the navy, fled from the civil strife and put to sea.

> Madoc I am, the son of Owen Gwynnedd,
> With stature large and comely grace adorned.
> No lands at home, nor store of wealth me please;
> My mind was whole to search the ocean seas.

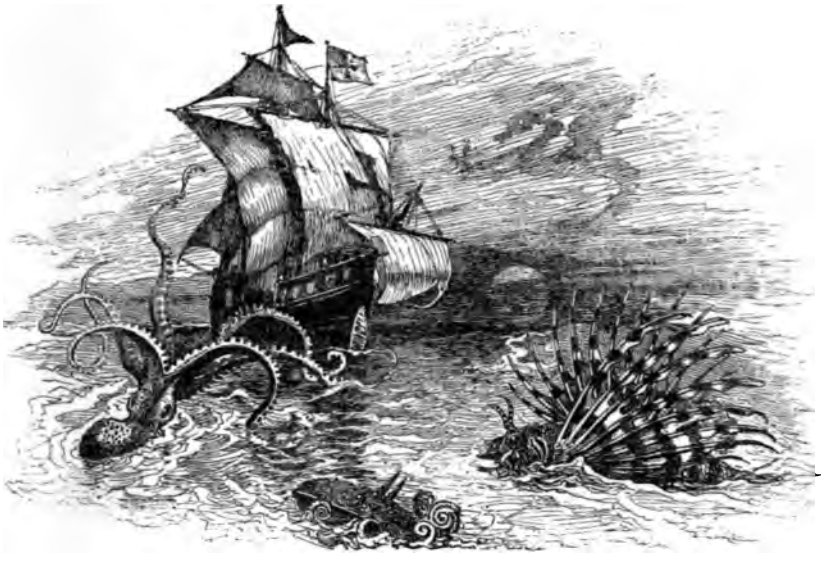
About 1170, he sailed westward with his fleet and discovered a new land that was so pleasing that he left there most of his men and ships and returned to Wales for more. He soon went back with one of his brothers and many others, enough to fill ten ships. There is no account of the return of any of these to Wales. It appears, however, that communication with the mother country was maintained, for we are informed that "they followed the manners of the land they came to and used the language they found there." Some have thought that their new home was in Canada, and others that they landed in Florida or passed up the Mississippi River. One of the most persistent of the early myths in regard to the American Indians was that of the existence of a tribe of Welsh Indians, the descendants of this colony founded by Prince Madoc.

Arabian Discovery

Next comes the story of possible American discovery by Arabian sailors in the twelfth century. At that time, the Arabians were the world's most daring sailors and the leading custodians of scientific knowledge. The story goes that eight of these Arabs built a boat, provisioned it for a voyage of several months, and fearlessly sailed from Lisbon directly out into the Sea of Darkness. This dreaded watery waste with its fabled monsters was "a vast and boundless ocean on which ships dare not venture out of sight of land, for, even if they knew the direction of the winds, they would not know whither those winds

The Sailors' Superstition

would carry them and, as there is no inhabited country beyond, they would run great risk of being lost in mist and vapor." Here was the home of the monster with the ox's head, with knobbed scales, and with hatred for all Christians. Here was Demogorgon with hurricanes and destruction flowing from his mouth. Here Sindbad's gigantic roc seized its white-winged prey and soared aloft with ship and crew into the upper air. Here Satan's



The Sea of Darkness

black and horrid hand reached forth from ocean depths to seize and to destroy any one who ventured to intrude. At the end of eleven days they entered a sea of grass. Beneath the grass were sunken rocks, above the grass a sickening smell. They were nearing the western bounds beyond which nothing was; the very sun began to fade away. None too soon they turned their prow toward the south. They landed on an island, were discovered and imprisoned, and then were set adrift upon the sea. Wind and wave bore them to the African coast where the natives cared for them kindly. Thence they returned to Lisbon. They probably saw the Cape Verde Islands and

Route of the Arabs

the Azores, if indeed there is so much of truth in the story. But there are those who see therein the record of a pre-Columbian discovery of America.

Another claim to the laurels of Columbus is wrapped in the story of the brothers, Nicolo and Antonio Zeni, of Venice. They made wonderful discoveries, wrote many letters, and produced a map. Letters and map were, generations later, given to an infantile descendant, Nicolo Zeno, with which to play. The young Nicolo tore to shreds the historical documents of which, thus early in life, he was made the sole custodian. But the wonderful child saved the bits, and in later life put them together and gave them to the public. For more than three hundred years a disputatious world has given much controversy to the truth or untruth of the story.

The Zeni Brothers, 1380–1404

1558

DE I COMMENTARII DEL
Viaggio in Persia di M. Caterino Zeno il K.
& delle guerre fatte nell'Imperio Persiano,
dal tempo di Vssuncassano in quà.
LIBRI DVE.
ET DELLO SCOPRIMENTO
dell'Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engronelanda, Estotilanda, & Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da due fratelli zeni, M. Nicolò il K. e M. Antonio.
LIBRO VNO.
CON VN DISEGNO PARTICOLARE DI
tutte le dette parte di tramontana da lor scoperte.
CON GRATIA, ET PRIVILEGIO
VERI TAS.
IN VENETIA
M D LVIII.

Title-page of the Zeni Annals (Reduced)

The Nicolo Zeno who lived after Columbus said that, in 1380, his wealthy ancestor of the same name fitted out a ship and sailed away, a true knight errant of the wave. A friendly storm drove him from his northward course and cast him on an unknown coast. The shipwrecked Zeno and his crew were rescued from the natives by Zichmni, the king of Frislanda, a neighboring island. Frislanda was a cold land, but the letters written thence had an atoning fervor. Zichmni was able to converse with Zeno in Latin, the universal language, and gave him a royal welcome. He made the Venetian an officer in the royal navy and conferred similar favors on his brother Antonio, who went to Frislanda for that purpose. The third brother, Carlo, kindly remained at home and

Frislanda

A Royal Patron

acted as the recipient of the letters written from Frislanda. The favor of Zichmni was probably more than Nicolo could bear, for in four years he died. The death of Nicolo seems to have broken all restraint on the fancy of his brother Antonio — or of his descendant and namesake.

About this time, Zichmni was moved by the reports of an old fisherman who, a quarter of a century before,

The Zeni Map

had been storm-driven a thousand miles westward and wrecked on the island of Estotiland (i.e., Newfoundland). The king here did not speak Latin, but he kept a Latin secretary, as Cromwell did. Thence the truthful fisherman moved southward and still southward to Drogeo, where some of his companions were eaten by the natives. Here he lived thirteen years among a very savage people who were at war continually. Of course, these were the red Indians of North America. Moving

A Fisherman's Story

southwest, the fisherman found and noted the great wealth and semi-civilization of Mexico, and then returned to tell, with all the traditional veracity of his gild, the story of his travels and discoveries to the believing Zichmni. Antonio reported all of it to Carlo.

Zichmni Discovers America

Then the Frislanda king fitted out a great expedition, became an explorer, and finally found a country so fair that he foreswore Frislanda and determined to remain and found a new state. What land of all the lands could this have been but our own Columbia? Antonio Zeno was sent back to Frislanda with Zichmni's ships. His last existing letter speaks of a book in which he had recorded the adventures of himself and his brother, as well as of the king whom they had served. But this invaluable treasure failed to survive the destructive tendencies of the youthful Nicolo—who lived after Columbus.

A Literary Imposture

The whole narrative is a confused jumble of geography, ingenious here, rather clumsy there, and on the whole hardly worth printing. But it has been printed many a time and buttressed with the support of influential names. Zichmni has been declared identical with Henry Sinclair, the earl of Orkney. Frislanda is not; where was it before it was swallowed up by some great cataclysm of the sea as Atlantis was? How could it happen that the discoveries of the Frislanda fisherman, so much more extensive than those of Columbus and all the navigators who followed him for the next hundred years, should have escaped the excited interest of the world to lie forgotten for two hundred years in the archives of the Zeni? How could historians contemporaneous with the Zeni brothers record their valor and renown in the wars between Venice and her neighbors and yet fail to mention discoveries so full of romantic interest as those above alleged? Unfortunately, the younger Nicolo Zeno and his adherents can point to no saga or other tradition of a Frislanda once known but now lost, and no other eye than his is known to have seen the mutilated and miraculously

It Lacks Contemporary Corroboration

Inherent Improbabilities

preserved literary treasures. Especially it is to be noted that the letters were not published until veritable discoveries had made possible a baseless fabrication to the end that Venice might share in the well-won glory of Spain, and that the Zeni might snatch some of the laurel from the brow of the immortal Genoese. In spite of Mr. John Fiske's confidence in a historical basis of the story, and his declaration that the great-great-great-grandson of the Chevalier Zeno "appears simply as a modest and conscientious editor," it seems safe to write across the face of the work of the younger Nicolo the epitaph framed by Mr. Lucas: "One of the most ingenious, most successful, and most enduring literary impostures which has ever gulled a confiding public."

Other Apocryphal Discoveries

We need not give more than a passing glance to the theory that identifies the red Indians of North America with the stock of the lost tribes of Israel, or to the possible early migrations by helpless driftings from Africa, with or without the Canaries as a halting-place. It is possible that Basque fishermen sought the whale in American waters as early as the seventh century and, because it was possible, it has been claimed that they did so. Of course, a commercial people like the Dutch must have discovered something and they have urged their claim, but in a somewhat phlegmatic way. We cannot deny that in 1476 the Polish Skolno skirted the coasts of Labrador, or that a dozen years later the Norman Cousin found South America. These apocryphal discoveries and many more fall within the category of the imperturbable May-be. At the best, they "resemble the shadows which chase each other over mountain tops, and are lost to view as daylight approaches," and we may dismiss them with a reminder of the wise caution of Mr. Winsor: "It is not easy to deal historically with long-held traditions. The furbishers of transmitted lore easily make it reflect what they bring to it. To find illustrations in any inquiry is not so difficult if you select what you wish, and discard all else, and the result of this discriminating accretion often looks very plausible. . . .

Perverted Historical Methods

Almost all these discussions of pre-Columbian voyagings to America afford illustrations of this perverted method. Events in which there is no inherent untruth are not left with the natural defense of probability, but are proved by deductions and inferences which could just as well be applied to prove many things else, and are indeed applied in a new way by every new upstart in such inquiries. The story of each discoverer before Columbus had been upheld by the stock intimation of white-bearded men, whose advent is somehow mysteriously discovered to have left traces among the aborigines of every section of the coast." Whether the alleged discoveries are fact or fiction, they bore no lasting fruit and can in no wise dim the luster of the diadem of Christopher Columbus.

CHAPTER IV

THE NORTHMEN

THE Northmen were the ancestors of the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, our own kinsfolk. Men of their race conquered England and were called Saxons; men of the same race conquered France and were called Normans. The Scandinavian vikings were piratical chieftains, often the younger sons of Danish or Norwegian kings. Though these vikings

> . . rode their thrones upon the thronging seas,

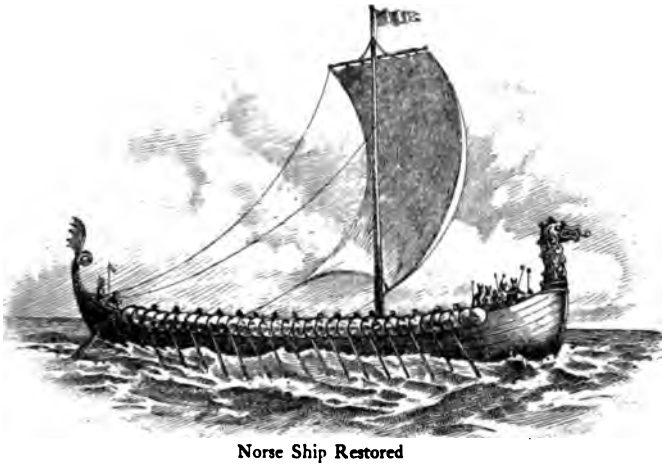
their title implies nothing of royalty. They were called vikings because their rowing galleys put off, not like the king's ships from the lawful harbor, but from the bay or *vik*.

Norse Ship Unearthed

The Galleys of the Northmen

Although these viking ships rode the waves so many years ago, we know their model and their build as well as we do those of any racing yacht famous in our own day. In 1880, one of them was unearthed in Norway. It was neatly built on graceful lines, and was well fitted for service at sea. It had one mast and thirty-two long oars. The rudder, which was like a large oar, was a few feet from the stern and on the right (steerboard or starboard) side, it was hauled in when the oars were used.

A faithful copy of the old galley was sent across the Atlantic and exhibited at the Columbian exposition at Chicago in 1893.



Norse Ship Restored

The Victorious Vikings

The vikings were colonizing conquerors as well as pirates. They had a king in Dublin as early as 852, and governed petty sovereignties at Waterford and Limerick. Their dark ships swept the western coast of Europe from the Elbe to the Guadalquivir, neglecting no Scottish isle or English port. "They sailed up French rivers and Charlemagne, the ruler of western Europe, wept." They stabled their horses in the cathedral church at Aix-la-Chapelle. They sacked Utrecht, Antwerp and Cologne, Bordeaux, Lisbon and Seville. From their winter quarters in Spain they extended their ravages to Naples, Sicily, and the coasts of the Greek empire. They stood guard in the palaces of the emperors at Constantinople, and took pay and plunder with charming impartiality. They captured castles from the Saracens in Africa, and left a pretty pattern for the Algerines of a later day. They were in Russia long before the introduction of Christianity. They were the terror of Europe and merited their renown. "They trusted to their courage, endurance, and two-handed swords to convince society at large of the inherent

Norse truth that no man has rights who has not the strength to defend them." *A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine*, became a part of the litany of the Catholic church. If lands were to be discovered at the west, they were more likely than any other people to make the discovery.

The Northmen in Iceland

On the northern way from Europe to America lies Iceland. Ten centuries ago it may have been a sunnier land than it now is. According to tradition, King Arthur conquered the island as early as the beginning of the sixth century. In the ninth century, Irish monks and an Irish colony were there. It is said that, about 864, Nadodd, an illustrious sea-rover, was driven by a storm upon the Icelandic coasts, and that, in 874, a colony was planted there "by a certain pyrate whose name was Flokko." This Norwegian jarl had fled from the vengeance of a race whose chief he had slain and now took refuge in Iceland, partly because life there was preferable to death in Norway, and partly because he had heard reports of a delightful climate and a fruitful soil, "with milk from every plant and butter from every twig." The Christian Irish left as the Norwegians came, and within half a century a little republic with nearly seventy thousand inhabitants grew up there. Such were the beginnings of a state that for several centuries was remarkable "for the simplicity and freedom of its political institutions, for the license, not to say licentiousness, of its social life, and for the intelligence and cultivation of its people."

Discovery of Greenland, 876

Scarcely had Iceland been settled by these Northmen, more than a thousand years ago, when one of their sea-rovers, Gunbiorn, sighted a strange land that for a hundred years was known as Gunbiorn's Rock, although its discoverer called it Hvidsaerk (White Shirt) from its snowy southern headland. A glance at the map of the north Atlantic shows how easily this discovery might be made. From the middle of the channel between Iceland and Greenland, land may be seen on either hand. About 982, Thorwald, another Norwegian jarl, exiled

for murder, withdrew to Iceland with his son, Eric the Red, also of dubious reputation. When, three or four years later, Eric found it convenient to leave Iceland

Thorwald and Eric the Red

Map of the North Atlantic Ocean

for his own safety and his country's good, he made his way to Gunbiorn's Rock. Three years later he returned to Iceland, remained one winter, and effected a reconciliation with the most troublesome of his enemies. He called his new home Grönland (Greenland), "because," quoth he, "people will be attracted hither if the land has a good name." He returned to Greenland with large additions to his colony, and formed two settlements on the west coast.

These things and many more are written in the sagas, or Scandinavian legends. The sagas were first told by eye-witnesses of the events narrated, and then handed down from father to son. In such ways, the record of every event of interest or importance was preserved and transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation and from century to century. It is possible that in such a process of transmission the original flavor of the field was somewhat affected by that of the fireside, although "it was considered a grave offense to public morality to tell a saga untruthfully." When written

The Sagas

language was introduced, these traditions were diligently sought and saved. It is claimed that all the sagas relating to discoveries and settlements in America had been put in writing by the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Antiquitates Americanæ

Certain of these sagas, "Reliques" rescued by Scandinavian Percys, tell the story to which we now refer. Written between the years 1385 and 1400; found centuries later in a monastery on the island of Flato (off the western coast of Iceland), and thence receiving the name *Codex Flatoiensis;* presented to King Frederick III. by the bishop of the diocese in which Flato lay; treasured in the royal library of Copenhagen and long known to Scandinavian scholars—they were made

1837

known to the world in general by the publication of Professor Rafn's large quarto, *Antiquitates Americanæ.* This book contains extracts from no fewer than eighteen ancient authorities, principally Icelandic and undoubtedly pre-Columbian. Several of them contain detailed accounts of the discovery of America and all of them make allusions to it.

Eric and Karlsefne

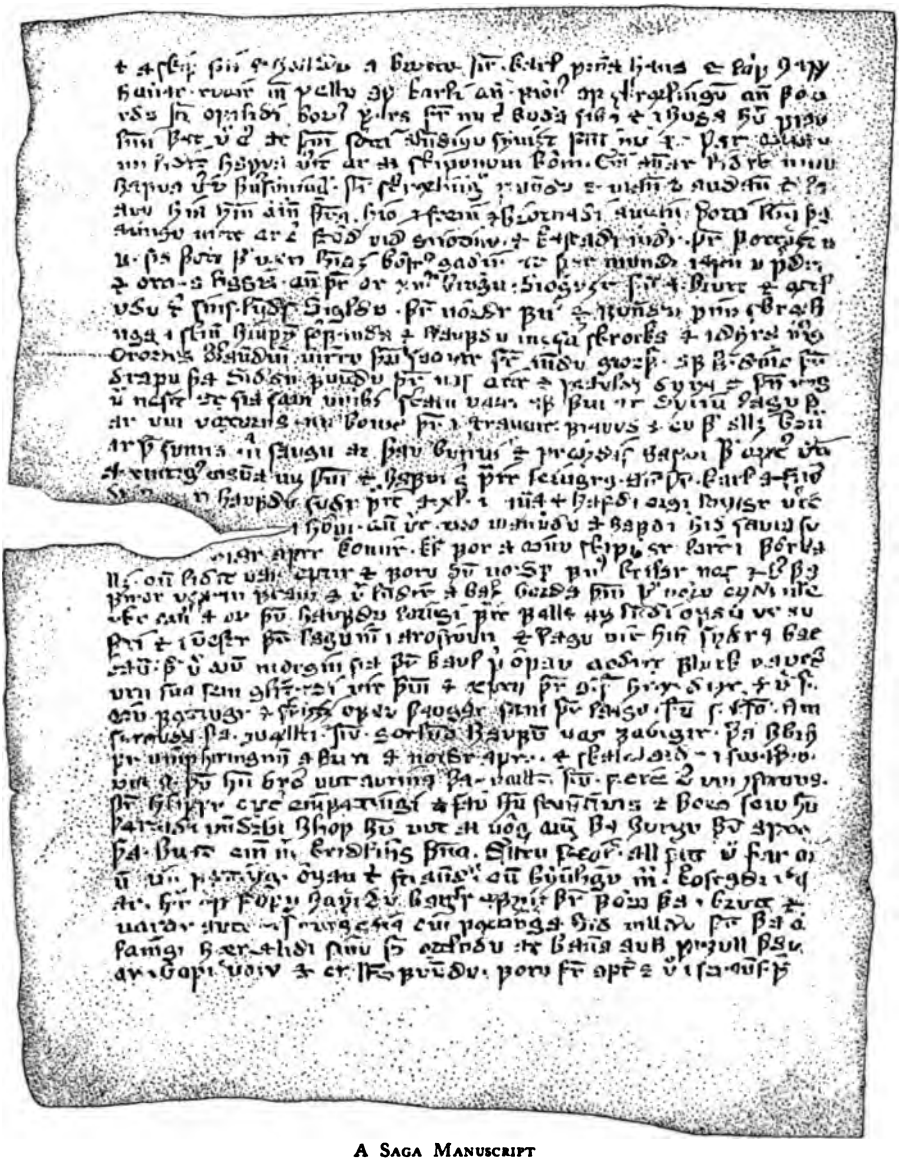
About half of Rafn's volume consists of two narrations. Of these the first may be called the history of Eric the Red, and the second the history of Thorfin Karlsefne. The Eric legends naturally give prominence to the doings of Eric and his sons, while the history of Karlsefne represents Karlsefne as the more important personage. These differences do not extend to matters essential, are no greater than would naturally grow up in accounts given by different actors in the same events and orally transmitted for several generations in different families, and show that the two works were not written in collusion. These stories do not sound like sailors' yarns; they bear internal evidence of trustworthiness.

The Sagas are Corroborated

The *Antiquitates* created a sensation. Although the historians of that day were decidedly incredulous in the matter, the authenticity of the sagas, in the main facts related, has been affirmatively decided. They are corroborated by the testimony of Adam of Bremen, a priest

Circa 1073

who was almost contemporary with Thorfin Karlsefne,



A Saga Manuscript

Circa 1148

and by that of Ari Thorgilsson (called Hinn Frodi), whom Konrad von Maurer calls the earliest and most trustworthy of all the Icelandic historians, and have been confirmed by the researches of modern explorers and investigators. Even when not credited as exact histories, they have a standing as epics founded upon facts. We cannot deal fairly with American history and ignore these picturesque and romantic legends.

Bjarni Herjulfson

When Eric the Red with his colony returned from Iceland to Greenland in 985, he was accompanied by Herjulf Bardson. Herjulf had a son, Bjarni or Biarne. Father and son generally spent their summers in trading voyages to Norway, passing the winters at home in Iceland. On his return from one of these Norway trips, Bjarni found that his father had emigrated to Greenland. Without hesitation, the son again sailed

986

westward. A dense fog enveloped ship and crew and, for many days, a north wind drove them over an unknown course. At last, the weather cleared and, soon after that, they sighted land. As the land was wooded and without mountains, the discoverer of America, who was seeking his father in Greenland, turned his prow from the shore.

Off the Coast of Labrador

Two days later, Bjarni Herjulfson (i.e., Bjarni, the son of Herjulf) neared the shore a second time. Finding it still flat and wooded, he refused to land, "because in Greenland are said to be very high ice-hills." Then for three days and nights they sailed with a southwest wind and again saw land ahead. But because there were no glaciers Bjarni said: "In my opinion, this land is not what we want." His men wished to land for wood and water, but he would not, and "he got some hard speeches for that from his sailors." Sailing with the southwest wind for three days more, they came in sight of land, mountains, and glaciers. Then Bjarni said: "This is most like what has been told me of Greenland and here we shall take to the land." His filial faithfulness had its reward, for the cape before him was called Herjulfness and his father's house was near.

Bjarni Herjulfson had been borne on the cold current that sets southward from the arctic circle and flows through the narrowed channel between Iceland and Greenland. By reason of two physical conditions, in combination with the restless activity of the tenth-century Northmen, Bjarni had sighted the American coast and sailed along the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador to Greenland. He made no landing on the continent.

Map of Bjarni's Course

Near the end of the century, Leif Ericson (i.e., Leif the son of Eric) sailed from Greenland to Norway and found that King Olaf had accepted the Christian religion and was forcing it upon his people with true Mohammedan zeal. It was about this time that the king sent word that, if all the Norsemen inhabiting Iceland did not at once become Christians, he would kill every one of them he could lay hand upon. Leif was converted with the rest and, on his return to Greenland, took a priest of the new faith with him. Greenland became a Christian land and her people built Christian churches. The ruins of one of these, known as the Katortok church, still remain.

Leif Ericson, 999

Ruins of the Church at Katortok

Inevitably, the story of the land that Bjarni had seen was much discussed in the Greenland homes. Among

The Pioneer of American Discovery

such a people, talking leads to doing. Eric the Red was the pioneer of Greenland, his father was one of the pioneers of Iceland; his son became the pioneer of the American mainland. In the year 1000 (or thereabouts), Leif Ericson, with thirty-five companions, sailed southward from Herjulfness. His first landing-place he

Landing of the Northmen

called Helluland (i.e., Flatstone Land); it is thought that this was Newfoundland. His next landing was at a place that Leif named Markland (i.e., Woodland); perhaps it was Nova Scotia. They then sailed with a northeast wind for two days and landed on an island north of the mainland. According to the "inspired identifiers of localities," they were now somewhere on the New England coast, but at what precise locality no ordinary mortal knows. Finding that the climate was pleasant and that the dew upon the grass was sweet,* they were delighted. Then they sailed between the island and the mainland, went up a river that came through a lake, cast anchor, went ashore, pitched their tents, built huts, and spent the winter there, the adventurous pioneers of American discovery.

* Probably the so-called honeydew.

Vinland

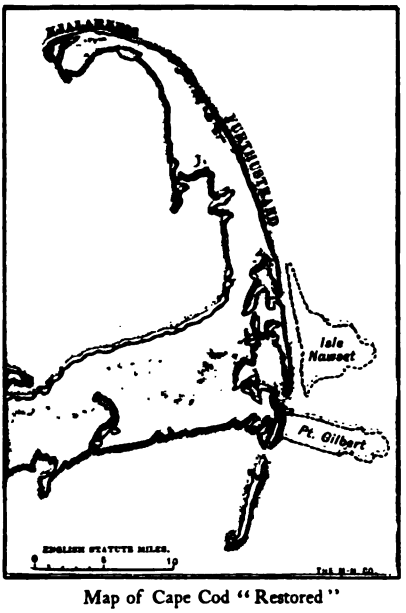
On the return of one of Leif's exploring parties, a man by the name of Tyrker, in great excitement and with wild gesticulation, addressed his companions in German, to them an unknown tongue. "Leif saw that his foster-brother was not in his right senses." When Tyrker's excitement had passed away, he addressed his companions in their familiar tongue, saying, "I found vines and grapes!" Quoth Leif: "But is that true, my foster-brother?" Tyrker replied: "Surely it is true, for I was brought up where there is no want of either vines or grapes." Leif then called the country Vinland, filled his long-boat with the trunks of trees, and heaped its deck with grapes and vines; in the spring, he returned to Greenland. No wonder that, in a land where trees did not grow and where vines and grapes were never seen, the priceless cargo and the land whence such things came formed the subject of eager discussion, and kindled enthusiastic zeal. On this or some previous voyage Leif had rescued a shipwrecked crew. For this and that, he was ever after known as Leif the Lucky.

Norse Boat Used as a Habitation

Thorwald Ericson

In 1002, Eric the Red having died and Leif the Lucky having succeeded to his earldom, the younger son and brother, Thorwald, thought further to explore Vinland. "Thou canst go with my ship, brother, if thou wilt," said Leif. Thorwald accepted the offer, selected a crew of thirty men, and sailed southward. They found Leif's booths still standing and therein went into winter quarters. The next season was spent in this pleasant land. In the spring of 1004, while Thorwald and some of his party were exploring the country in a northward direction, the ship was driven ashore in a

storm near a ness or cape. They put a new keel into their damaged ship, set up the old keel in the sand, and called the place Kjalarness or Keel Cape. It has been thought by some, and stated as a fact by others, that this Kjalarness was on Cape Cod's shores. To meet some of the difficulties in the way, these enthusiasts do not hesitate to bring an island up from the bottom of the sea, and to make other restorations in the coast line. Soon after the disaster at Kjalarness, they came to "a point of land which stretched out and was covered with wood." Looking upon the scene, Thorwald said: "This place is beautiful and here I would like to raise my dwelling." His wish was voiced in prophecy.



Map of Cape Cod "Restored"

Killed by the Skraellings

Here the Northmen first met the natives, whom they called Skraellings (dwarfs, or Eskimos). Of a party of nine, eight were captured and mercilessly put to death; the other one escaped to tell the story of the wrong wrought by Europeans upon the American aborigines. It was the first of a long-continued series. Quick retribution came. The avenging dwarfs attacked the sleeping Northmen. When the Skraellings had withdrawn, the mortally wounded Thorwald said: "Now counsel I ye, that ye get ready instantly to depart. But ye shall bear me to that cape where I thought it best to dwell. There shall ye bury me and set up crosses at my head and feet, and call the place Krossaness forever, in all time to come." He died and was buried and all things

were done as he had said. Then the party went back to Vinland, loaded the boat with grapes and timber, and in the spring went back to Greenland as Leif the Lucky had done before. They who locate Kjalarness at the extremity of Cape Cod, set the Krossaness on the shores of Plymouth County, Massachusetts.

Thorstein Ericson

In the summer of 1005, an expedition was fitted out to fetch Thorwald's body to Greenland. It was in command of Thorstein, another son of Eric the Red. Thorstein had taken unto himself as wife Gudrida, the widow of the captain of the shipwrecked crew rescued by Leif the Lucky. The expedition of Thorstein and Gudrida, for she accompanied her husband, was a failure. They found neither Krossaness nor Vinland, and after a cruise of several months returned in the early winter. Thorstein and many of his crew died, and strange manifestations followed. After his death, Thorstein assured the twice widowed Gudrida that he had "come to a good resting-place," and foretold for her a third husband and a numerous posterity. The pleasing prophecy, related in heroic style, proved true. Thus did rude but vigorous fancy supplement and ornament the poverty of real life with its peculiar pageantry.

Thorfin Karlsefne and Gudrida

In 1006, Thorfin Karlsefne (i.e., Thorfin the Hopeful or Manly), a wealthy Icelandic merchant of distinguished lineage, visited Greenland on a trading voyage. He passed the winter at Brattahlid, the home of Leif the Lucky. The splendor of the winter entertainment was largely due to the liberality of Karlsefne who, knowing of the poverty of his host, said to him: "We have in our ship plenty both of malt and corn; take of it what you will and make as great a feast as your heart desires." Yule-tide brought its joys for young and old and doubtless did its part in yielding favoring circumstances. In the preceding spring, Gudrida had come home with the body of the dead Thorstein. Soon after Christmas, and before the end of the first year of her second widowhood, Gudrida and Karlsefne were married.

Three Icelandic merchants in Greenland, Snorri Thor-

Merchant Adventurers

brandson, Bjarni Grimolfson, and Thorhall Gamlason, heard much of Vinland and arranged with Karlsefne to visit the country of which so many tempting reports had been made. Thorwald, who had married Freydisa, a natural daughter of Eric the Red, was to go with them in a ship of his own. Thus was organized a voluntary expedition to consist of three ships and a hundred and forty persons—about equal in size, as Mr. Gay remarks, to that for which four centuries later Columbus, poor and praying, waited seven years. The colonists were provided with tools and provisions, cattle and lesser live stock, and other necessaries for a permanent settlement. Besides Gudrida and Freydisa there were a number of women, married and single. Their presence was not an unmixed blessing. One of the narratives of the subsequent troubles tells us that "the women were the cause of it, for those who were unmarried would injure those who were married, and hence arose great disturbance."

Departure of the Colonists

The ships sailed in the spring of 1007, touched at Helluland, at Markland, and at Kjalarness, at which last named place they found the keel set up three years before by Thorwald. Beyond Kjalarness extended a sandy shore of such a length that it was called Furthustrand, after which the coast became much indented with bays and inlets. On the shores of a bay further along the coast, Karlsefne and his companions spent the first winter. On account of its currents, they called this bay Straumfjord. In the southern part of the bay they found a large island abounding in sea-fowls' eggs. The island they called Straumfey.

The Settlement at Hóp

The season was one of trouble. The fishing was poor, provisions ran short, and desertions followed. After this, Karlsefne and his party sailed "a long time," and found a place where "a river ran out from the land and through a lake to the sea." Here they made a resting-place, put up houses, and called the settlement Hóp. Whatever its location, Hóp seems to have been a goodly place in which to dwell.

The Skraellings soon appeared, a race described by the

Skraellings, Barter, and the Bull

settlers as very dark and grim-visaged, with filthy heads of hair, great eyes, and broad cheeks. They were fierce-looking but friendly. In the spring of 1009, they came again and in greater numbers than before. The thrifty settlers set up a profitable barter with the natives, exchanging red cloth for valuable furs on their own terms. When the latter wanted European weapons, Karlsefne, with a worldly wisdom that the white man has not always imitated, refused to trade. The saga says that, when the red cloth was exhausted, "he took this plan: he bade the women bring out their dairy stuff for them, and as soon as the Skraellings saw this [milk, butter, etc.], they would have that and nothing more. Now this was the way the Skraellings traded: they bore off their wares in their bellies, but Karlsefne and his companions had their bags and skin-wares, and so they parted." While the Iceland merchant was thus engaged, his bull rushed from the woods. The Skraellings, terrified by the huge unknown beast and his hideous bellowings, fled precipitately to their skin-boats and paddled off with the energy of unsimulated fear.

Eskimo Skin-boat

The Natives Rout the Northmen

After several weeks or months, the newcomers having killed a native, the Skraellings returned. They were now a hostile army, an avenging horde. In the furious battle that followed, Karlsefne's little band was overpowered by numbers and driven back. When the flight became a panic, Freydisa rushed among the fleeing Northmen. Imagine the heroic spectacle as this child of shame appears with Amazonian mien and words of eloquent reproach. "Why do ye run, stout men, before these miserable caitiffs, whom I thought ye would knock down like cattle? If I had weapons, I ween I could fight better than any of you."

Freydisa Turns the Tide

The still fleeing Northmen heeding not her appeal, Freydisa seized the sword of one of the killed and turned to face the foe; a woman heavy with child against an

army! Tearing open her dress, she beat her bare breasts with the sword. Her cries and aspect were those of a fury. The natives were startled and checked by the strange sight. Is this then some powerful priestess calling upon us the dire vengeance of the gods with her strange incantations and fierce imprecations? It was something that they could not understand and, therefore, something of which to beware. The fight was renewed and the rout reversed. Only two of the Northmen were lost. About this time, and in fulfilment of her second husband's post-mortem prophecy, Gudrida had a child who was called Snorri, the first person of European parentage born on American soil of whom history makes mention. Then "disputes arose on account of the women, those who had no wives wishing to take them from those who had." The Vinlanders had been Christianized, but not radically enough to respect the gospel of chastity.

Vinland Abandoned, 1010

In the following spring, Karlsefne abandoned his colonization scheme. After loading their ships with timber, the party sailed for Greenland where they arrived in safety. Thence Karlsefne voyaged to Norway with the richest cargo that had ever left Greenland shores. In 1015, he sold his merchandise and bought a great estate in Iceland, so that "Snorri grew up there and his children after him." Gudrida died in an Icelandic cloister founded by her son. Among her distinguished descendants the best known, probably, is Thorwaldsen, the Danish sculptor. Thorlak, the grandson of Snorri, became a bishop and was reputed very learned. He compiled a still existing code of Icelandic ecclesiastical law and probably committed to writing the sagas which constitute the most valuable of the records from which these facts were ascertained. The *Antiquitates Americanæ* owes much of its value to the coöperation with Professor Rafn of Finn Magnusen, a descendant of the same Snorri.

Bjarni Grimolfson set out from Vinland with Karlsefne, but his ship was carried into seas infested with the teredo

or ship-worm and thus soon reduced to a sinking condition. "They had a boat which was smeared with seal oil, for the sea-worms do not attack that." Then Bjarni said: "Since the boat cannot give room to more than the half of our men, it is my counsel that lots should be drawn for those to go in the boat, for it shall not be according to rank." Accordingly the "lots were drawn, and it fell upon Bjarni to go in the boat, and the half of the men with him." When one of the unfortunates upbraided his chief for leaving him behind, Bjarni replied: "Go thou down into the boat, and I will go up into the ship, since I see that thou art so desirous to live." Places were accordingly exchanged, and "it is most people's belief that Bjarni and his companions were lost in the worm-sea, for nothing was heard of them since that time."

The Heroism of Bjarni Grimolfson

Freydisa soon began to plan for a return to Vinland. Two brothers, Helgi and Finnbogi, Iceland merchants, accepted her proposition for a joint expedition. The brothers were to take thirty fighting men and Freydisa an equal force. She permitted Thorwald, her husband, to be one of her thirty. Helgi and Finnbogi reached Vinland ahead of Freydisa, and stored part of their goods in Leif's booths. Upon her arrival she demanded that their goods be moved. When the brothers found that Freydisa had secretly brought five fighting men additional to the expected thirty, the goods were moved. Freydisa made her party a faction, and the two houses soon developed into hostile camps. Helgi and Finnbogi and their followers were attacked while sleeping. All the men were put to death, but Freydisa's men would not lay hands on the five women. Then Freydisa seized an ax, and "did not stop till they were all dead." Speaking to her men, she said: "If it be permitted us to come again to Greenland, I will take the life of that man who tells of this business!" In the following spring they returned to Greenland. It is supposed that, during the next two centuries, frequent voyages were made to America from Greenland. It is said that Eric Upsi, a Greenland bishop, sailed for Vinland in 1121. We do

Freydisa's Colony

1012

The Northmen Abandon Vinland

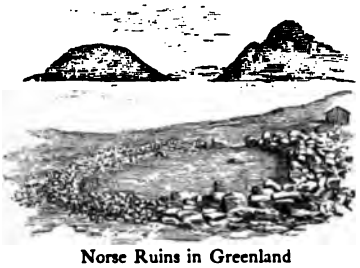
not know whether he got there or not. With him, Vinland drifts into oblivion.

Correction and Corroboration

Since the story as herein briefly told was given to the world in 1837, the researches of Storm and Reeves and others, and the critical analysis of Fischer have done not a little in the way of correction of Rafn's version in chronology and other details. It is possible that other copies are more accurate than is the Flato codex, that the voyage of Bjarni Herjulfson came after the discovery of Leif the Lucky rather than before it, and that the Karlsefne expedition sailed from Greenland and returned from Vinland at dates four or five years earlier than those above recorded. But the essential facts are that the discovery and the brief occupation of America by the Northmen have not been discredited, and that the more the subject is illuminated, the stronger becomes the corroboration of the general trustworthiness of the sagas.

The Northmen Linger in Greenland

Traces of the Norse occupation of Greenland are abundant. The colonists maintained a regular commercial intercourse with Europe until the thirteenth century. Then a royal mandate made the trade a monopoly of the throne. Commerce died out and, in the fourteenth century, the hostile Eskimo appeared. By their attacks, and possibly by pestilence and famine, the Greenland colonists were depopulated and brought to the verge of destruction. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that little was heard of Vinland. In the fifteenth century, communication with Europe wholly ceased. So completely were the colonists forgotten that a century rolled by before the world remembered that they had once existed. In 1721, Hans Egede was sent with his wife and children on a mission to the Eskimo. Ruins and relics of the lost settlements were found on the west coast of Greenland instead of the coast that lay opposite Iceland, where



Norse Ruins in Greenland

they had at first been sought. It is probable that the Northmen who remained were amalgamated with the Eskimo and thus disappeared.

Evidence in Support of the Sagas

Having glimpsed the contents and inherent probabilities of the sagas, we turn for a moment to the other evidence adduced in their support. This proof is classified as linguistic, ethnological, physical, geographical, and monumental. Most of it has a bearing on the location of Vinland. The testimony based on the correspondence of language is preëminently inconclusive and, with this recognition of its existence, need not delay us further. Ethnology does better than philology, but wholly fails to make a case. It is stated that the Micmacs have a tradition of a people visiting their coast in ships in the tenth century; and, by means of resemblances in mythology, Leland "proves" that at one time there must have been an extensive intercourse between the Northmen and the Algonquins. One author sees Scandinavian descendants in the people of Central America; Brasseur finds remnants of Norse civilization in the same region; and Gravier, an exceedingly credulous Frenchman, is sure that the culture of the Aztecs was drawn from a viking fountain. The Northmen are thus credited with the great mounds of Ohio and the Mississippi valley. Setting to the south, the Norse tide of emigration swept over Mexico. Thus are the Mexican ruins very comfortably accounted for. With similar facility, others have seen in the ruins of an ancient city in the province of Bahia conclusive evidence that the Northmen resided in Brazil. Unfortunately they have not thus explained the origin of the temples and palaces of Peru or told us of the final fate of the Northmen in the New World.

Fancy Running Riot

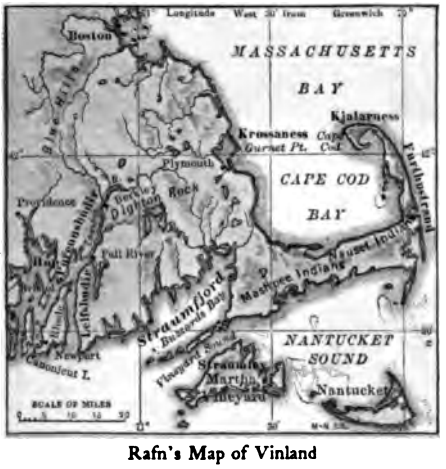
Where is Vinland?

Among the physical proofs lie considerations of climate, tides, and the length of the summer day. Much has been made of the fact that wild grapes grow in Rhode Island; but they also grow in Canada. The phenomena of the tides on the Massachusetts coast are

said to correspond well to the descriptions given in the Icelandic legends. The second part of the saga of Eric the Red contains a passage that has been relied upon by many as fixing the length of Vinland's shortest day, and thus determining the latitude of the place. Unfortunately, even Icelandic scholars differ widely as to the proper interpretation of the words that represent respectively the time of the sun's rising and setting. The varying interpretations cover a range of six hours in the length of the brumal day, and a sweep of the coast from New York to Newfoundland. As understood by Professor Rafn, the sentence indicates a nine-hour day and a latitude that corresponds with singular exactness to that of Canonicut Island in Narragansett Bay. Another writer says that the passage is about as definite as if the sagas had told us that the Vinland solstitial day lasted from breakfast time until the middle of the afternoon.

Attempts at Identification

Appeals have been made to the length of the voyage from Greenland as recorded in the sagas, but the sailors were practically coasting, and we have no means of telling how often they followed the common Norse custom of anchoring at dark. The value of the evidence drawn from correspondence of the coast-line to the descriptions of the sagas has been pushed up and down the gamut between conclusiveness and worthlessness. Professor Rafn seems to have had no trouble or hesitation in identifying the island at which Leif the Lucky landed with Nantucket, and Vinland with Massachusetts and Rhode Island. He places the site of Leif's



Rafn's Map of Vinland

booths at Bristol, Rhode Island, and speaks with a charming confidence of "the precise spot where the ancient Northmen held their intercourse." On the other hand, it has been said that a mere study of the map will show any dispassionate man that the description given by the sagas has hardly anything in common with the Rhode Island locality, and that the changes undergone by the coast of southern New England during nine hundred years renders the identification of any spot visited by the Northmen practically impossible.

Norse Monuments

The monumental evidences are more tangible but not more conclusive. Not a single indisputable runic inscription exists south of Greenland. The earthworks of Onondaga were once believed by many to be of Scandinavian origin, but no one so believes today. Several alleged runes have been studied and their importance magnified and loudly heralded; such were the inscription on a stone said to have been found in the Grave Creek mound, another on a rock near Yarmouth in Nova Scotia, and another on a rock near Monhegan on the coast of Maine. Some of these were merely natural markings, fissures rather than incisions. Their definite translation into modern English has been cited as a striking instance of the way in which a lively imagination aids in the interpretation of weather cracks on a rock.

The Dighton Rock

None of these supposed memorials of the Northmen in America is more famous than the Dighton rock, lying on the bank of Taunton River in the town of Berkley, Massachusetts. Learned and eager Danes easily read "Thorfin" and "CXXXI" in the inscriptions, part of which, they said, proclaimed that "One hundred and thirty-one men of the North have occupied this country with Thorfin." When the Dighton rock came to be studied without the fervid Scandinavian patriotism and was freed from

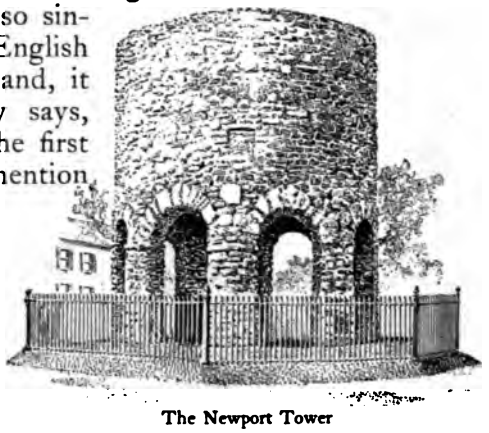
The Dighton Rock

the learned and ingenious commentaries of the Copenhagen antiquaries, the representations of the human figures and animals appeared too rude for the monumental work of the Icelandic emigrants. "They greatly resembled the figures which the Indians paint on the smooth side of their buffalo skins. The characters supposed to be numerals certainly resemble the Roman signs for unity and ten; but every straight mark resembles 'I' and every cross resembles 'X'." The idea of a Norse origin for the Dighton rock inscriptions was never generally accepted in the United States and, since the finding of numerous rock inscriptions of undoubted Indian origin, it has been wholly given up.

A New Mexico Inscription Rock

The Tower at Newport

The old mill at Newport has been often cited as a true Norse memorial. While it is strange that we have no record of the building of so singular a tower by early English inhabitants of Rhode Island, it would be, as Mr. Palfrey says, much more strange that the first English settlers did not mention the fact if, on their arrival, they had found a vestige of a former civilization so different from anything else within their view. Benedict Arnold (the name was not blacked until a later century) succeeded Roger Williams as governor of Rhode Island in 1657 and held the office many years. He died in 1678, and in his will, made that year, speaks of the monument in question as "my stone-built windmill." Governor



The Newport Tower

Arnold's family came from Warwickshire, England, and in Warwickshire is Leamington. He had a farm in Rhode Island and called it Leamington Farm. Three miles from the English Leamington is Chesterton, and at Chesterton is a round stone windmill. This English mill, the admiration of the people at Warwickshire, and doubtless well known to Arnold in his boyhood days, much resembles the one at Newport. That the Newport mill was copied from the one at Chesterton is suggested by a glance at pictures of the two structures.

The Chesterton Mill

Of like authenticity is the story of the "Skeleton in Armor," discovered in 1831 near Fall River, Massachusetts. Parts of a well preserved skeleton were found with armor, consisting of a breastplate and a belt of brass tubes linked together in a peculiar manner, not unlike mail in its general construction. Armlets and anklets made in the same way and brass arrowheads of superior construction were also found. All of these remains were placed in the museum at Fall River and subsequently destroyed by fire. The skeleton was not that of an Indian, and as certainly not that of a Northman. Good viking flesh would not cling to the old bones, and even Longfellow's genius could not perpetuate the fancy. Still, M. Gravier concluded

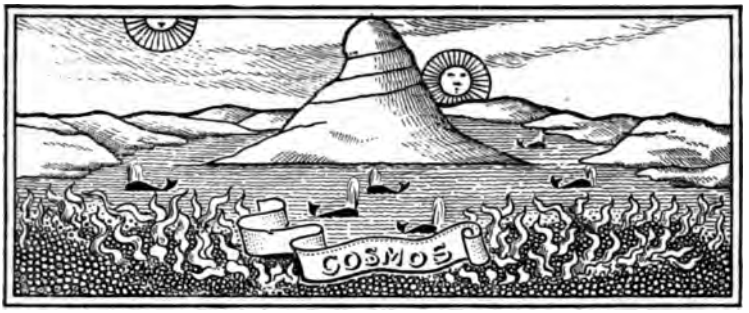
The Skeleton in Armor

Statue of Leif Ericson

that certain other skeletons found near by were those of the victims of Queen Freydisa!

The Conclusion

These and other supposed Norse remains were questionable testimony at the best and are no longer admitted in evidence. We must depend wholly upon the sagas themselves, and it is doubtful if they can settle the question as to where Vinland was. When the Boston statue to Leif Ericson was projected, the members of the Massachusetts historical society discouraged it on the ground that there was no satisfactory evidence that the Northmen ever reached New England. It is probable that we shall never be able to remove from the realm of doubt a single place in the United States as having been settled by the Northmen. We may feel sure that such settlements existed; we do not know where they were located.



CHAPTER V

EARLY GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

A Flat Earth

THE world of Homer, "the author of geographical experimental science," was a narrow world. The earth was a plane, known to be such by the direct evidence of undoubted sense. It "ended in a horizon of pure ignorance, girdled by the deep-flowing current of the river Oceanus," on the further bank of which lay fable-land. In common belief, this conception of the earth long outlived Homeric times. With advancing knowledge, the idea of a disk-like earth gradually changed to the conception of a parallelogram with its greater extent lying east and west. This assumed flat earth, variously shaped, was as variously supported. The consideration of the means of terrestrial support belongs to celestial mechanics rather than to historical geography.

Homer's World

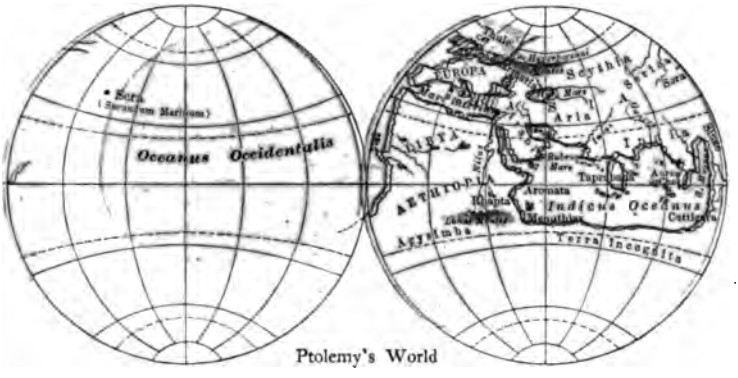
A Spherical Earth

It is not known when or where the theory of the earth's sphericity originated, but it antedates Columbus by two thousand years. It was held by the disciples of

Pythagoras and was probably taught by that philosopher six centuries before Christ. Plato adopted the doctrine, and Aristotle, Eratosthenes, Strabo, and other wise men who lived before the beginning of the Christian era admitted their belief in the globular form of the earth and indulged in speculation as to the possibility of sailing westward from Spain to India. It is by no means probable that the theory was generally accepted by the people either in antiquity or in the middle ages.

The Habitable Zone

At an early day, the spherical earth was conceived as divided into zones by the tropics and the polar circles. The polar zones were uninhabitable on account of their intense cold, as was the torrid on account of its intense



Ptolemy's World

heat. Only in the temperate zones could man live, and only in the north temperate zone could he be known to live; the southern was cut off from knowledge by the fiery heats along the equator. Little by little, commerce, the most efficient pioneer of geography, broke its own bonds and put an end to the long-enduring error.

Geographical Measurements

The earliest measurement of the earth by a known method was made by Eratosthenes, about the middle of the third century before Christ. He measured a degree on the meridian of Alexandria and concluded that the circumference of the earth was about two hundred and fifty thousand stadia. The stadium was a measure of six hundred Greek feet of uncertain length. In later centuries, Strabo, Ptolemy, his contemporary, Marinus

of Tyre, and others made widely varying estimates in which we find little learned from actual discovery but much to emphasize the general mistiness of geographical information. About 150 A. D.

Mingled with these teachings of crude science are the glowing pictures of a wonderful literature, blending fact and fable so skilfully that it is far from easy to decide what is myth and what is history. In an admirable monograph to which the writer of this chapter acknowledges a deep obligation, Mr. Tillinghast tells us that "the expanding horizon of the Greeks was always hedged with fable: in the north was the realm of the happy Hyperboreans; in the east, the wonderland of India; in the south, Panchæa and the blameless Ethiopians; nor did the west lack lingering places for romance. Here was the floating isle of Æolus, brazen-walled; here the mysterious Ogygia, navel of the sea; and on the earth's extremest verge" was Elysium, the abode of the blessed and immortal dead, the Elysian Fields of Homer, Hesiod's and Pindar's Islands of the Blest. The Elysian Fields and the Islands of the Blest

In the course of his tenth labor, Hercules erected on the Strait of Gibraltar the opposing promontories that were called the pillars of Hercules and were long regarded as the western boundary of the world. His eleventh labor was the getting of the golden apples of the Hesperides from their island gardens at earth's remotest western bounds, The Pillars of Hercules and the Fortunate Islands

> Beyond whose shores no passage gave
> The ruler of the purple wave.

The poets delighted in glowing pictures of these Hesperian plains and the long-lingering Islands of the Blest. As early as the first century before Christ, the Fortunate Islands designated some of the Canaries. Although the Canaries were soon engulfed in the darkness of the middle ages, the Fortunate Islands remained as a favorite theme for the poets and myth-makers of that period.

In Plato's dialogue of *Timæus*, wherein the author sketches the history of creation, Critias relates that his grandfather had been told by Solon some remarkable Atlantis About 400 B. C.

events in early Athenian history, learned by him from Egyptian priests whose records went much further back than did those of the Greeks. The most famous exploit of the early Athenians was the overthrow of the power of the island of Atlantis, the destruction of which took place before the conflagration of the world by Phaëthon. Atlantis was described as a continent lying over against the pillars of Hercules and greater in extent than Libya and Asia Minor put together. From it there was an easy passage to other islands and another continent. In Atlantis Neptune settled, and there his descendants ruled for many ages. This mighty power was arrayed against all the countries of the Mediterranean, but its armies were driven back by the Athenians. Soon after this came an earthquake by which Atlantis and all its splendid cities and warlike nations were sunk to the bottom of the sea.

Fact or Fancy?

The idea of a vanishing island is very old, perhaps as old as fog-banks and mirage. The existence of the ocean plateaus and many floral, faunal, and ethnological resemblances between the Old World and the New have been held up as proofs of the prehistoric existence of an Atlantis. More than one modern writer has declared in substance that, with passing years, the story "seems to lose much of its mythical character and to be brought to the plane of a historic fact." Still, it is generally believed that Atlantis is a myth.

Meropian and Saturnian Continents

The story given by Theopompus concerning the Meropian continent that held the ocean sea that compassed the known world, and that of the Saturnian continent given in one of Plutarch's dialogues may also be classed as imaginative literature. Such theories of physical geography as they contain have no basis in exploration.

Phenician and Carthaginian Exploration

The Phenicians were the pioneers of maritime discovery, and founded the present Cadiz, beyond the pillars of Hercules, more than eleven hundred years before the coming of Christ. When the Phenicians dropped the scepter of the sea, the Carthaginians picked it up. They

discovered the Canaries and perhaps the Madeira and Cape Verde islands. There is no evidence that either Phenicians or Carthaginians reached the Azores, much less America, although, of course, such honors have been claimed for both. To the Greeks and Romans we owe even less in the matter of westward exploration. The commercial rivalry of states and the hostile interruption of overland routes of trade with the East that gave an incentive for the ocean voyages of the fifteenth century, were unknown under the almost universal dominion of the Roman empire, while the fabled but accepted dangers of the deep were fatal to a very common love of exploration of the western waters for its own sake. But the increase in wealth, and the consequent growth of luxury, drew heavily upon the resources of India and China, and thus led to a truer knowledge of the shape and size of the earth.

Lactantius and Saint Augustine

It seems strange that, after the development of the idea of the earth's sphericity, the notion of a flat world should be revived, and that the fantastic concepts of the ancients should be outdone by those of Christian teachers. Largely owing to a certain habit of mind that "fears nothing but a want of faith," there was a medieval period in which geographical science was prostituted for religious purposes. At the beginning of the fourth century, Lactantius urged that it was absurd to suppose that men lived on the other side of the earth when their feet would be higher than their heads. A century later, Saint Augustine called attention to the fact that the Bible makes no mention of a race of men descended from Adam living on the other side of the world. "Were the earth a globe, men living on the other side could not see the Lord when he descended to judge the world."

Cosmas

About the year 540, the Alexandrian monk known as Cosmas (probably a nickname) unfolded his theological doctrines in his *Christian Topography*. In this work, now proverbial among the curiosities of literature, Cosmas declared that "the world is a flat parallelogram.

Its length, which should be measured from east to west, is the double of its breadth, which should be measured from north to south. In the center is the earth we inhabit, which is surrounded by the ocean, and this again is encircled by another earth in which men lived before the deluge and from which Noah was transported in the ark. To the north of the world is a high conical mountain, around which the sun and moon continually revolve [an Indian concept]. When the sun is hid behind the mountain, it is night; and when it is on our side of the mountain, it is day. To the edges of the outer earth the sky is glued." Although preposterous as a philosopher, Cosmas had journeyed to India as a trader, and probably had visited Abyssinia, Egypt, and Palestine, before he settled down in his monastery and wrote what Mr. Beazley has called the systematic nonsense of his *Christian Topography*. "Even more than actual exploration, theoretical knowledge seemed on its death-bed for the next five hundred years."

Polyhistor

In the middle ages, when learning shrank into the cloister and barbarism flooded Europe, it is probable that there was a prevalent belief in a flat earth, disk-shaped or rectangular. Ptolemy and Strabo, Herodotus and Hipparchus, passed almost wholly away from Christian memory. The only works of the pagan period that held much attention were compilations like those of Solinus, surnamed Polyhistor, in which geography is taken into account only as "a framework on which the web of the story-teller is woven into the garments of romance." But while learning dwindled it did not die. The monastery preserved the precious knowledge of the earth's sphericity, knowledge that became the guiding star and sustaining power of the world's greatest discoverer.

Antillia

When the Meropian and Saturnian fictions hibernated, the Canary Islands dropped out of memory, and Atlantis, the Islands of the Blest, and the Hesperides went with them, geographical myth quickly filled with a new progeny the places thus vacated. Medieval maps of the Atlantic were dotted here and there with a rank growth

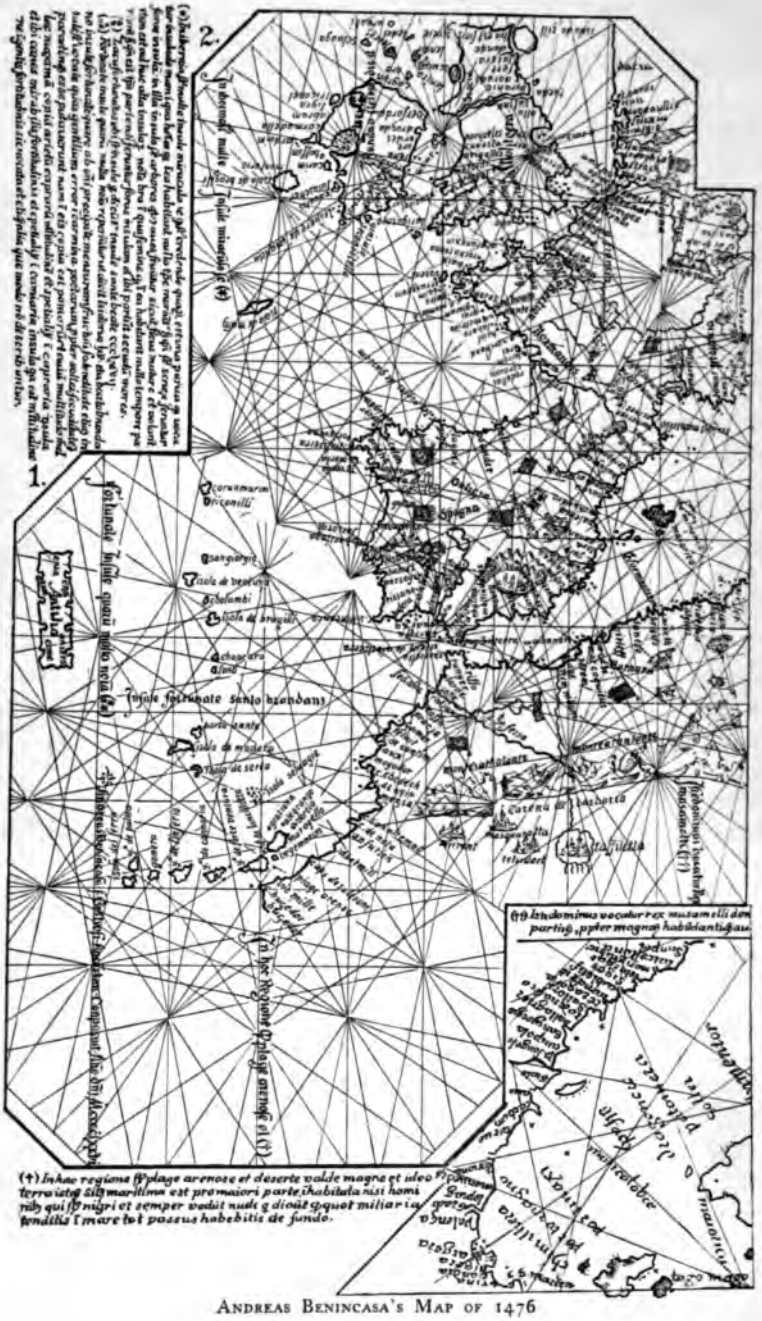
of fabulous islands. Thus, when the Moors triumphed, 714 A. D.
a Spanish archbishop and six bishops fled into the ocean and discovered Antillia, the largest of the imaginary brood. It was near the latitude of Lisbon and in longitude 330 degrees east of the west coast of Europe, a convenient way-station for some coming Columbus. Here the archbishop and his followers burned their ships to prevent desertions, and founded seven towns, whence the name "The Island of Seven Cities." The story and the tradition on which it was founded were current at the time of Columbus, and the island was put down on the maps of that day.

Saint Brendan's Navigation 565 A. D.

Saint Brendan was a sixth-century Irish abbot, the alleged patriarch of three thousand monks. About the middle of the century, accompanied by his disciple, Saint Malo, and sixteen other monks, he set out in search of certain islands in the Atlantic, which, he was told, possessed the delights of paradise. As his "Navigation" was drawn out for seven years, the pilgrims had many strange adventures and made many great discoveries, after which they returned to Ireland. The "Navigation" took place in the sixth century; the story first appeared in the eleventh. Although this "Christianized fragment of classical myth" has a suspicious likeness to the Sindbad saga, it has served as the basis of a claim of a British discovery of America.

Saint Brendan's Island

In later generations, the inhabitants of the Canaries fancied that far to the westward and in perfectly clear weather they beheld an island many leagues in length. In spite of abundant testimony as to its existence, the illusive island could not be found. Then the legends of Saint Brendan were revived and his name applied to the island. In spite of repeated futile voyages of investigation, the island of Saint Brendan took firm hold of popular belief and did not relax its grip for centuries. Its nonexistence was often proved and yet geographers gave it place upon their maps. This unsubstantial island, one of the regions known to mariners as Cape Fly-away and the coast of Cloud-land, was laid down on most of the



ANDREAS BENINCASA'S MAP OF 1476

charts of the time of Columbus; the delusion long outlived the great discoverer. Born in poetic hagiology, it obstinately lingered in poetic mirage.

A Literary Convenience

Though Saint Brendan's Island was hidden from the eyes of ordinary men, it was revealed by the second sight of the immortal poets. Here Armida held Rinaldo in delicious but inglorious thraldom, as set forth in the immortal lay of Tasso. Here the witch, Sycorax, held sway when Prospero and Miranda were wafted to its shores, as told in the magic page of Shakspere. Nor may we omit from our catalog of wonders the assurance of our own genial Irving, that "on the shores of this wondrous isle the kraken heaves its unwieldy bulk and wallows many a rood. Here the sea-serpent, that mighty but much contested reptile, lies coiled up during the intervals of its revelations to the eyes of true believers. Here even the Flying Dutchman finds a port and casts an anchor and furls his shadowy sail, and takes a brief repose from his eternal cruisings."

Bresil

Ever since 1375, when the maker of the Catalan planisphere stood as its godfather, the island of Bresil had been floating about the Atlantic, generally in the latitude of Ireland. In 1480, the English sent out an expedition to search for it, and, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the fleeting insular vision had not disappeared from the British admiralty charts. In addition to the quondam Islands of the Blest, the Atlantic had its many Isles of Demons:

> Kept, as supposed, by Hel's infernal dogs;
> Our fleet found there most honest, courteous hogs.

Poetic Prophecy

The dense darkness of this era was much relieved by Moslem explorers and students, but their science made no considerable advance after the beginning of the second Christian millennium. Gradually the campaigns of the Saracens and the Crusaders, missionary and commercial travel, and especially the reports of the great travelers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, together with the general advance in scientific knowledge, led the learned back to the Pythagorean conception,

and prepared the way for the permanent triumph of the sphere over the parallelogram. About the middle of the twelfth century, and while the Northmen probably were yet in America, Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his *History of the Britons*, and put these words into the mouth of Diana:

> Brutus, far to the west, in the ocean wide,
> Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,
> Sea-girt it lies, where giants dwelt of old,
> Now void, it fits thy people. Thither bend
> Thy course; there shalt thou find a lasting seat;
> There to thy sons another Troy shall rise,
> And kings be born of thee, whose dreadful might
> Shall awe the world and conquer nations bold.

Two centuries later, Petrarch wrote of

> The daylight hastening with winged steps,
> Perchance to gladden the expectant eyes
> Of far-off nations, in a world remote.

These and similar passages need not be held to shadow forth a knowledge of the American continent, but they do show that the possible existence of such a continent was often in men's minds.

Pulci and Columbus

In the fifteenth century, the idea of the earth still common among the common people was that of a parallelogram extending from east to west. In fact, the world that they knew, laid down on a modern map, constitutes such a figure. The main lines of travel ran east and west, and the Mediterranean was the great highway of commerce. Some of the crude geographical ideas of that day have been fossilized in language, and thus perpetuated to ours. For instance, longitude or length is still measured east and west, while latitude or breadth is measured north and south. But a period of transition was at hand. How far the tide had then returned is shown by an extract from Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, in which the Devil, referring to the common superstition concerning the pillars of Hercules, says:

1481

> Know that this theory is false; his bark
> The daring mariner shall urge far o'er
> The western wave, a smooth and level plain,
> Albeit the earth is fashioned like a wheel.

Man was in ancient days of grosser mould,
And Hercules might blush to learn how far
Beyond the limits he had vainly set,
The dullest sea-boat soon shall wend her way.
Men shall descry another hemisphere.
Since to one common center all things tend,
So earth, by curious mystery divine,
Well balanced, hangs amid the starry spheres.
At our antipodes are cities, states,
And thronged empires, ne'er divined of yore.
But see, the sun speeds on his western path
To glad the nations with expected light.

Evidently the world was ready for the genius and achievement of the great discoverer. Five years after Pulci's death, Columbus verified the almost imperative prophecy. Thus the tangled thread of fact and fancy leads from the Ægean and the Nile to the portals of the western world.

CHAPTER VI

PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.— PSALM cvii.

Profit and Progress

THE wondrous story that, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, the Venetian, Marco Polo, had told of Kublai Khan, and of Mangi and Cathay (China) with their countless cities, teeming wealth, and indescribable magnificence, had aroused the curiosity and kindled the avarice of the western world. The growing wealth and luxury of the age had made an increasing demand for the costly merchandise of India, and the great cities of Italy had fattened on the traffic. But the pathway to the gorgeous East lay through wide deserts and hostile countries. Portugal and Castile, far removed from the devious route of this profitable commerce, were almost forced to turn their eyes to the western ocean and to seek therein new paths and new domains. The drain of coin from the west to the east had doubled the purchasing power of silver and gold in Europe, and some readjustment

Marco Polo

of the disturbed balance of trade had become an economic necessity. Thus the one great dream of western Europe came to be an ocean route to the dominions of the great khan, and the one great problem was to find it. Two methods of solution were offered, one by Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, and the other by Christopher Columbus. Prince Henry's plan was to pass around the southern extremity of the African continent; that of the immortal Genoese was to sail boldly westward across the Sea of Darkness.

Prince Henry

Prince Henry of Portugal, the fourth son of King John I. of Portugal and a nephew of Henry IV. of England, was born in 1394. He lived to aid in the development of reawakening science, to wreathe his country's name in glory, and to extend the blessings of the Christian religion. But more to him than science, the laurel, or the cross was — India. His proposal to turn the commerce of the East from the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean to the broad bosom of the Atlantic involved defiance to the fabled monsters of the Sea of Darkness and the traditional terrors of the Sea of Fire. Pliny had taught and generations had believed that "the middle of the earth on which is the path of the sun is parched and set on fire by the luminary and is consumed by being so near the heat." Proverbs had been born of the belief that no man could go beyond Cape Non and live.

Prince Henry the Navigator

Sagres

Prince Henry took up his home on the barren promontory of Sagres at the southwestern extremity of Portugal and gathered wise men there. His court became a college, with courtiers for pupils, sages for professors, and a prince for president and patron. He died in 1460, too soon to see the fulfilment of his dream, but he had committed Portugal to the policy of mari-

Portuguese Exploration

time discovery. The skilful mariners whom he enlisted explored the western coast of Africa as far as Sierra Leone, discovered the Azores, and, about 1418 or 1419, rediscovered Madeira, then uninhabited. Porto Santo, one of the Madeira group, was discovered about the same

1425

time. Six or seven years later, Prince Henry sent colonists to Porto Santo and Madeira; among them was Bartolomeo Perestrello, a gentleman of the household. In 1452, Pedro de Velasco, following a flight of birds, had found Flores, the most westerly of the Azores and the remotest outpost of the Old World. But these experimental and accidental voyages were subordinate to the definite program of an advance down the coast of Africa, and thus a route to Asia. In 1469, King Alfonso farmed out the African commerce and required that the limit of discovery be carried southward a hundred leagues each year. The equator was crossed in 1471, and the mouth of the Congo reached in 1484. Dias doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1486. It is said that Bartholomew, the brother of Christopher Columbus, was one of those who made this eventful voyage. Vasco da Gama sailed to India by way of "the cape," arriving at Calicut on the twentieth of May, 1498, a few days before Columbus sailed on his third voyage. The dream of Prince Henry was justified; the ocean route to India was opened. Venice and her sister cities of the Mediterranean fell into decline; Lisbon and her sister cities of the Atlantic seaboard received new life. The tide of oriental traffic

Map Illustrating Early Portuguese Discoveries

flowed in new channels and continued therein until the Suez canal was opened in 1869.

Three Decades of Discovery

These were not the only results; for, if the great achievement of Columbus "was the connecting link between the Old World and the New, the explorations instituted by Prince Henry of Portugal were, in truth, the anvil upon which that link was forged." Although the luster of his fame as the father of discovery is dimmed by the fact that the Portuguese exploration of Africa reposed on the solid economic basis of the slave-trade, Prince Henry was the originator of one of the greatest revolutions that has affected the destinies of mankind. In the widest sense, the age of maritime discovery begins with his career and ends with that of Captain Cook. In a more restricted sense, it reaches from 1492 to 1522. Within these thirty years, greater additions were made to man's knowledge of the earth's surface than were made in any thousand years from which this single generation is excluded. To this briefer period we now turn.

CHAPTER VII

COLUMBUS AND HIS GREAT IDEA

MANY an Italian town and village, and a hamlet in Corsica, moved by local pride and sustained by an almost pardonable enthusiasm, have laid claim to the honor of giving to the world the most illustrious of discoverers. Moreover, a natural pride in a family name has piled claims around the family tree until the Columbian genealogy is intricate if not doubtful. The best that can now be done is to give what seems to be most probably true. Giovanni Colombo had a son, Domenico, who, in 1439 or earlier, settled in the wool-weavers' quarter in Genoa, outside the old gate of San Andrea. This Domenico had sons, Christoforo, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo, probably all born in Genoa. About 1470, the family moved to Savona, twenty-six miles from Genoa, where Domenico and his son Christoforo pursued their trade as weavers. But business affairs did not prosper, and, about 1484, Domenico returned to Genoa. It is probable that Christoforo was born between March, 1446, and March, 1447, and in the house No. 37, in the Vico Dritto di Ponticello. In 1887, the municipality bought the property and placed over the door an inscription with which the above statement agrees. In different lands the name is written in different ways — as Colombo, Colon, Colomb, and Columbus. To us, Christoforo is known as Christopher, and Bartolomeo as Bartholomew; when Giacomo went to Spain, he was known as Diego Colon.

The Columbi

As to the early life of Columbus, events are so entangled that absolute clarification of the record seems almost impossible. The wool-combers of Genoa had local schools for their children, and it is probable that young Christopher had the benefit thereof. If we can trust the *Historie* attributed to his younger son, he spent a few months (probably about 1460) at the university of Pavia. Possibly the failing fortunes of the father abbreviated the university training of the son, who probably returned to Genoa and, not long thereafter, began his seafaring life. According to a statement attributed to Columbus himself, he was only fourteen years of age when he took this important step. Even if Columbus did so state his age, the statement cannot be accepted as conclusive. Doubtless he was an adventurous youth, and for such the sea then had strong attraction.

1446
1484
Columbus as a Boy

Ship of the Fifteenth Century

About 1460, John of Anjou, duke of Calabria, fitted out an expedition at Genoa to recover the kingdom of Naples for his father. It has been usual to associate the earliest maritime career of Columbus with this expedition, and a letter, said to have been written in 1495 by Columbus to the Spanish monarchs, describes some of the events of the campaign. But there is testimony in rebuttal, and some reason to think that Columbus was of adult age when he first went to sea. Fortunately, there is no doubt that he did go to sea, and little if any that, during several years of "commercial adventures and warlike enterprises," he gained much of the nautical skill that fitted him for his great work — a work for which he came to think he was specially ordained of heaven. Some of these "warlike enterprises" had a strong flavor of what, in our day, is called piracy. At

Columbus Goes to Sea

1446–1484 this period, there was such a spice in every commercial venture. There were French corsairs of his name, and, with little doubt, some of their exploits have been charged to the account of Christoforo of Genoa. In spite of the mistiness of these early days, some of his biographers do not hesitate to give precise accounts of his daily life. Little of this information is deserving of much credit. Our evasive hero disappears from Italy in 1473 and is next found in Portugal.

His Marriage

For the years that Columbus spent in Portugal we have little that is authentic; unfortunately, there is not a single act of his life, in this period, that can be credited with an exact date. The usual story is that he took up his home at Lisbon, where his brother Bartholomew was making charts for a living. He had not been there long before he married Dona Felipa Moniz, daughter of Bartolomeo Perestrello. It is supposed that they soon went to Porto Santo, one of the Madeira Islands, where the wife had an inheritance. It is also supposed that here, before 1484, a son, Diego, was born; and that, among the documents and maps of his dead father-in-law, Columbus found something that hastened his conception of a western way to India. The date of his return from Porto Santo to Portugal is unknown. In fact, there is no conclusive evidence that Columbus ever lived at Porto Santo.

His Alleged Voyage to Iceland

In the doubtful Italian edition of the *Historie* ascribed to Ferdinand Columbus, the translator (if the book has the authority of a translation) makes the admiral say that, in February, 1477, he sailed "one hundred leagues beyond Thule," or made a privateering cruise to Iceland and beyond. In the minds of some students, this alleged voyage is of pivotal importance, but the incident is surrounded with doubt. If Columbus went to Iceland, he may have heard of Eric and Vinland, but there is no admissible evidence to show that he did. He certainly did not use the success of the Northmen in his subsequent tedious struggle to persuade some court to help him try his plan. This he would have

done had he known the story, for, as Mr. Higginson remarks, "in converting practical men, an ounce of Vinland would have been worth a pound of cosmography." It seems inconceivable that Columbus should have sailed westward from the Canaries if he had been influenced by discoveries of non-European lands in the northwest. It is, however, probable that he sailed with some of the Portuguese expeditions to the west coast of Africa, and, when at home, added to his income by making maps and sea-charts. 1473 1484

Toscanelli

According to the generally accepted history of the discovery of America, Columbus wrote, as early as 1474, to Paul Toscanelli, a famous cosmographer of Florence. Toscanelli was then seventy-seven years old, and there were current rumors of his theory of a westward way to India. In reply, the Florentine physicist sent the outline of a plan of discovery, and a sailing-chart that set forth his ideas of the Asiatic coast lying over against that of Spain. Unfortunately, the map is lost, but various efforts have been made to restore it. We do not know just when the letter was received by Columbus or just what place it holds in the development of his views. In fact, the authenticity of the Toscanelli letter and map has been vigorously impeached. One of the Columbian iconoclasts accounts for the alleged fraud as the fruit of the vanity of the great discoverer who wished to appear as the correspondent of scientific men, and by another one on the supposition that the letters were forged by Bartholomew Columbus as an antidote for the current story that his brother Christopher had worked out his plan in accordance with the story of a dying pilot who had been blown across the Atlantic. Whether Toscanelli was or was not "the initiator of the discovery of America," the eastward trend of the African coast just north of the equator had been recently discovered, and the discovery had raised high hopes of a short route to the Indies, the objective point of the anxious Portuguese quest. But in 1472, Santarem and Escobar had brought back to Lisbon news that, beyond the Gold Coast, the

1473 land-line turned southward and so stretched away beyond
1484 the equator, no one knew how far. According to the common version of the story, it thus happened that Toscanelli's letter came just at the time when King Alfonso of Portugal and many of his subjects were anxiously considering the possibility of a way to the Indies shorter than the southern. At that opportune moment, the Florentine cosmographer pointed toward the west.

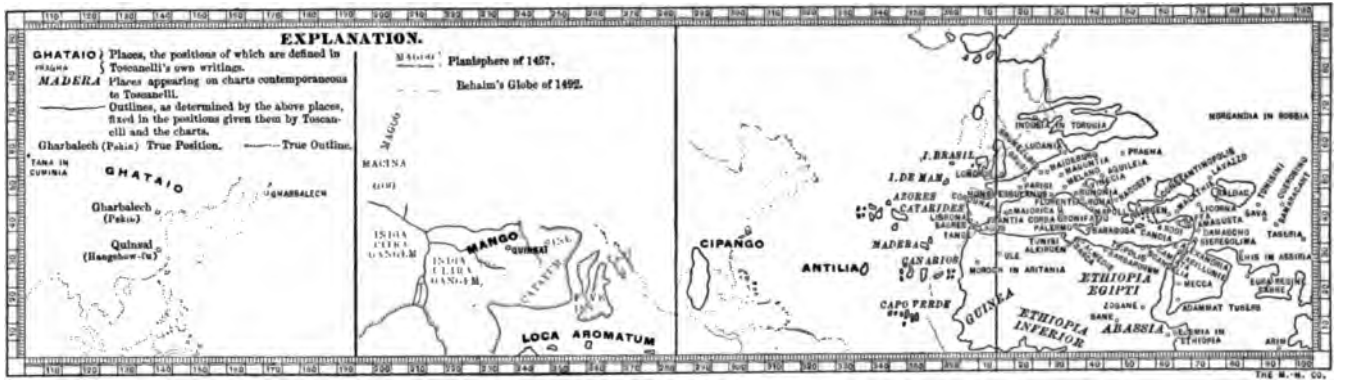
Size of the Earth Underestimated

As the ancients magnified the extent of the western ocean until it appeared impassable, so most of the advocates of the new geography underestimated the size of the earth. It was believed that Asia extended over far more than a hemisphere, and that the remaining distance around the globe was comparatively short. Marco Polo had not told how far out in the ocean from the Asiatic coast Cipango lay, and Toscanelli's map showed that, in case of disaster, ships could find a harbor in Antillia or in one of the other islands of which there was an abundant supply. Toscanelli closely estimated the size of the earth, but Columbus continued to accept Ptolemy's estimate, and thus made more plausible his project. He also thought that he had scriptural authority for his belief that he would find land not more than seven hundred leagues west of the Canaries, for in one of the apocryphal books of the Bible he had often read: "Upon the third day thou didst command that the waters should be gathered in the seventh part of the earth: six parts hast thou dried up."

2 Esdras vi, 42

A Helpful Error

The earth of Columbus was but two-thirds as large as ours. His three thousand miles of western sailing would bring him near the American coast, but (even if land had not blocked the passage) it would have measured off but a third of the way to his Cipango, our Japan. This unintentional diminution of the distance increased the probability of finding the needed patron. Mr. Fiske makes the remark that "many a hopeful enterprise has been ruined by wrong figuring," but that this "was a case where the littleness of the knowledge was not a dangerous but a helpful thing."



AN ATTEMPT TO RECONSTRUCT THE ALLEGED TOSCANELLI MAP

(Also showing the coast of Asia as it appears on the Planisphere of 1457 and on Behaim's Globe of 1492)

1473
1484

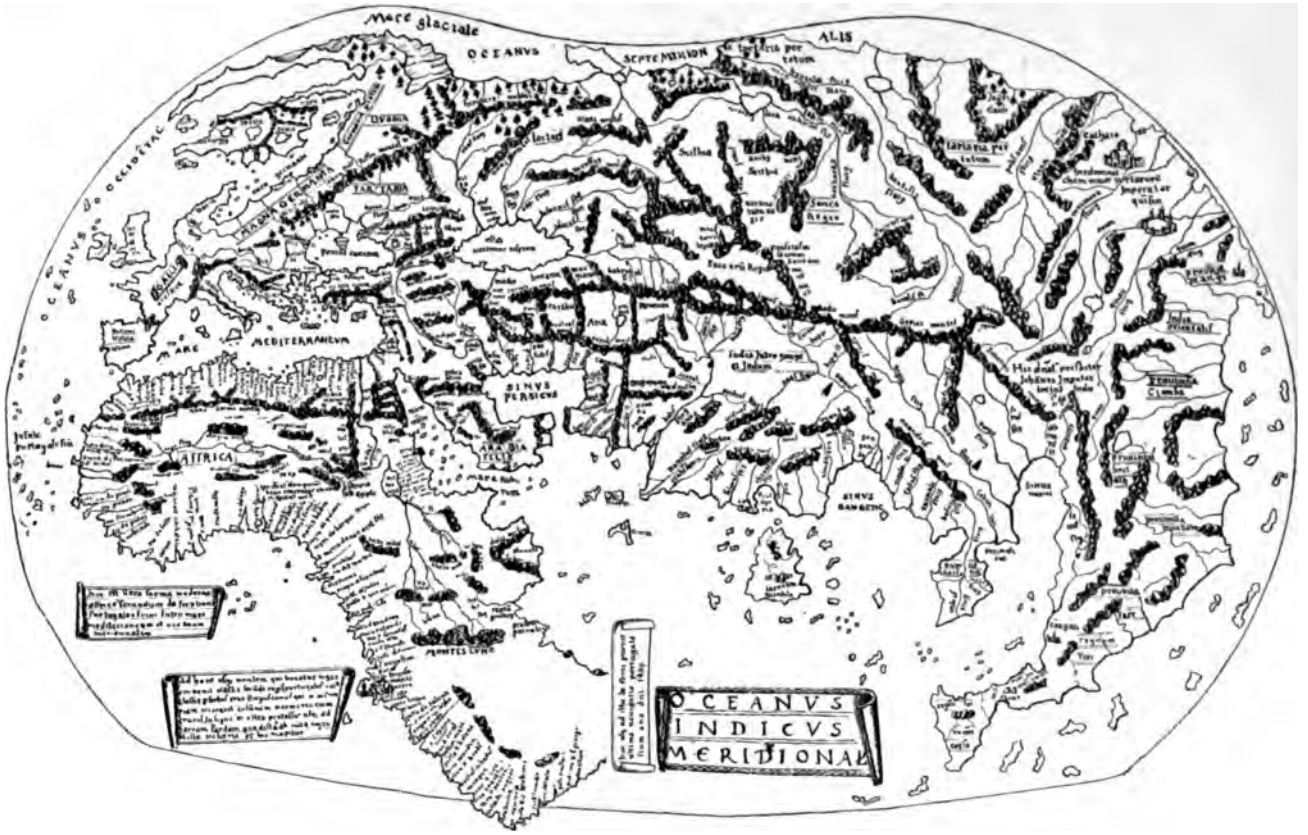
Tendencies of the Age

Living in an atmosphere that was surcharged with the spirit of maritime enterprise; mingling with wise men who had brought renown and wealth to Portugal; with navigators for kith and kin; himself a sailor by training and a cosmographer by profession—it was, perhaps, inevitable that his imaginative mind should conceive great ideas and his impetuous temper urge him on to their execution. We must bear in mind that science, speculation, and invention had recently awakened after twelve centuries of trance. The newly created art of printing was multiplying books. The compass had come into use, the improved astrolabe enabled the mariner to determine his latitude and longitude at sea, the magnetic needle pointed his way across the trackless waters, and ship-building and ocean navigation had developed a type of vessel better fitted for the passage of the Atlantic than were the light galleys of the Mediterranean. Geographical discoveries had created an intense longing for geographical information, and such longings led to further effort.

The World Wakes Up

The Studies of Columbus

That there was a western passage to the East, Columbus became convinced by the combined force of several lines of influence, including the scientific teachings of Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny, and the speculative views of Aristotle, Seneca, and Toscanelli. In 1267, Roger Bacon had collated many passages from ancient writers to the general effect that the distance westward from Spain to Asia could not be very great. These were copied in the *Imago Mundi*, written in 1410, but not printed until seventy or eighty years later. Columbus was a close student of the *Imago Mundi*, and his copy, with numerous marginal notes in his own writing, is still preserved. He was also familiar with the stories of Marco Polo and Mandeville, and had taken part in the Portuguese explorations of the African coast, "which at every step winnowed the geographical tradition of its terrifying chaff." As mariner and cartographer, Columbus was familiar with the sea-charts of his day. To us these are a chaos of error; but, if we are to estimate the



MAP OF THE WORLD BY HENRICUS MARTELLUS GERMANUS, ABOUT 1492

(From the original manuscript in the British Museum)

1473 great discoverer fairly, we must put away the modern
1484 map.

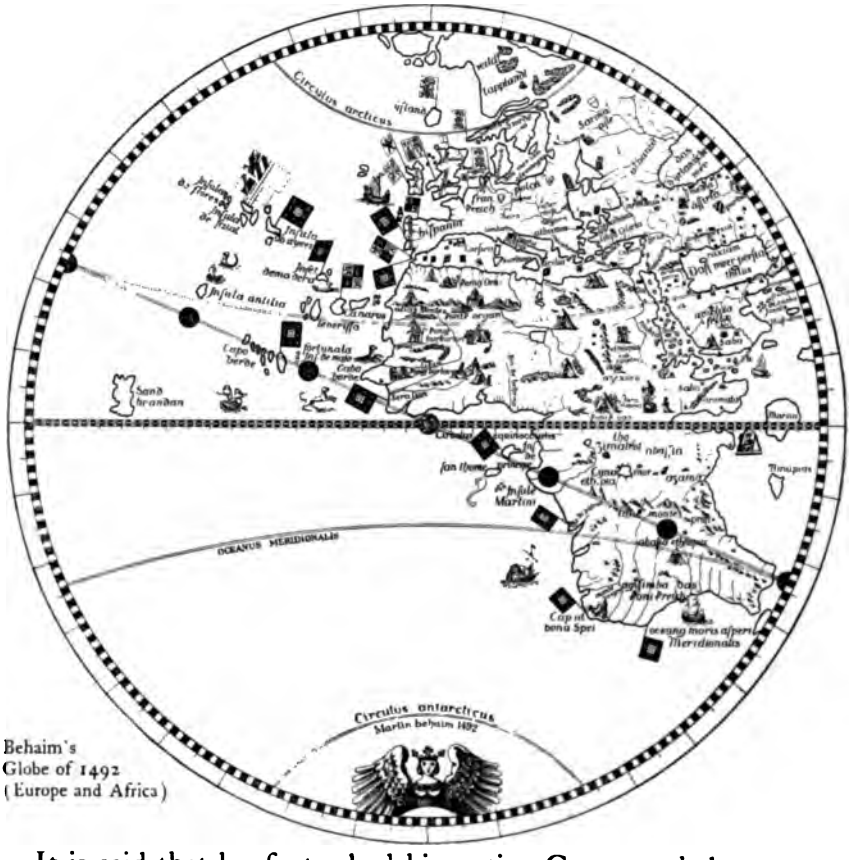
Columbus Convinced

Probably, Columbus knew Martin Behaim, the maker of the famous globe of 1492 which placed Cathay in tantalizing proximity to the European seaboard, provided Antillia and Cipango (Japan) as convenient stopping-

Behaim's Globe of 1492 (Asiatic Continent)

places, and liberally sprinkled in lesser islands, as if to lure mariners to the unknown west. There were also relics of an unknown people cast upon European shores by unsuspected oceanic currents. There was a shorter route to India than that coastwise by Africa. With this conviction, and without doubt or hesitation, Columbus

became the Peter the Hermit of geographical fanaticism. 1473
His great merit is, not that he originated the idea of a 1484
western way, but that he breathed into it the breath of life. He was not a moral hero, but he had a virile readiness to follow an intellectual conviction, and an indomitable persistence that must always challenge admiration.



Behaim's Globe of 1492 (Europe and Africa)

He Asks Portugal for Aid

It is said that he first asked his native Genoa to help him give to her an empire. It is not likely that he did, but if he did he asked in vain. He appealed to Alfonso, king of Portugal, and waited persistently (some say patiently) until that monarch laid down the scepter and John II. began to govern in the name of his father.

1473 This ruler had the spirit of his great uncle, Prince Henry.
1484 He, however, with justifiable prudence, referred the Columbian scheme to a learned bishop and two eminent cosmographers. They reported that the project was extravagant and impracticable. Whether the adverse nature of the report arose from a disbelief in the probability of success, or from a loyal desire to protect the monarch from the extortionate demands of the applicant, is still an open question. Columbus understood the merits of power and wealth, and had a goodly vision in his eye. If anticipations ever were gorgeous, they were those of the Genoese map-maker of Lisbon.

Why Portugal Refused

The demands of Columbus were excessive, and the conquest of Guinea had put burdens on the royal treasury. The war with Castile absorbed the energies and the money of Alfonso V. The time was not favorable for maritime adventures. Moreover, Portugal already had a practical monopoly of the African route to India, secured by papal bulls and a treaty with Spain. It is easy to conjecture that, with a certainty in the southern route, King John was less inclined than he otherwise would have been to waste time and money in support of the western venture. Perhaps more fundamental is the fact (emphasized by Harrisse) that the theory advanced by the great Genoese was not new, and that his arguments were only a repetition of what Toscanelli had written to the king's chaplain years before. Moreover, the time was past when Portugal had to depend upon Italian mariners.

Delay and Deceit

Thus the fanatic of today and the immortal of tomorrow was kept for years in pendulous suspense between hope and despair. At last the king's confessor proposed a treacherous scheme. Columbus had submitted his plans, charts, sailing-directions, and other needed information. A caravel (a small three-masted vessel) was secretly sent to sea. She bore the documents furnished by Columbus for the consideration of the court and council; her commander had instructions to sail westward as far as possible and to test the correctness of the theory to which the

documents related. When the captain reached the Cape Verde Islands, he put the ship about, returned to Portugal, and reported that the proposed western passage to India was a chimerical notion. Columbus was poor but he was proud, and when he learned of the attempted fraud he turned from the court that he so long had haunted, and refused to reopen negotiations with a monarch who could stoop to such an infamy. Death had robbed him of his wife, and a faithless king had tried to rob him of the honors that pertained to his proposed discoveries. Why or what should he care for Portugal? 1484 1488

Columbus Goes to Spain

The story has thus been told so many times that it seems almost heartless to record that Columbus left Portugal in secrecy to escape the vigilance of government spies, that there is some reason for believing that he also had to shun arrest for debts, and that it is not certain that his wife was dead. The letter that he wrote to Dona Juana de la Torre in 1500 indicates that when he fled into Spain he left a wife and children behind him in Portugal. The exact date of the flight is not known, but it seems to be agreed that Columbus left Lisbon in the latter part of 1484. The first exact date that we can link to any of his doings after the seventh of August, 1473, when he was at Savona in Italy, is the fifth of May, 1487, when, as the accounts of the treasurer of the Spanish sovereigns show, he received at Cordova his first gratuity, three thousand maravedis, about eighteen dollars, according to present money values. The vagueness is unfortunate because these were the fourteen years that made his later success possible. It is also unfortunate that the story of the deceit of the king of Portugal and other incidents rest upon the unsupported testimony of his filial biographer and are looked upon as myths by some and accepted with a grain of salt by others.

The Convent and the Prior

It is said that Columbus went in person to reopen negotiations with the republic of Genoa and that he made proposals to the Venetian senate, but he next appears in history at the door of the Franciscan monastery near Palos, asking the porter for bread for the boy whom he was

1484 leading by the hand. This convent of Santa Maria de
1488 Rabida stands on a rocky promontory east of the Rio Tinto, a conspicuous landmark from the sea. Juan Perez (often called Marchena), the prior of the convent, noticed the dignified appearance and demeanor of the

The Convent of La Rabida

stranger and quickly found that the beggar was not of the common kind. Columbus became the guest of the convent and to the prior told the story of what he had been, was, and hoped to be. La Rabida became a home for Diego and a frequent resting-place for his father. In the neighboring port of Palos lived Garcia Fernandez, a physician skilled in geography and mathematics; also the Pinzons, a family of seafaring men. With this choice set of kindred spirits, in the cloisters of the convent, Columbus discussed his theories, his problems, and his plans. They believed his theories, approved his plans, and espoused his cause with eager zeal.

Columbus at Cordova

In the spring of 1486, the migratory Spanish court was at Cordova, preparing for a vigorous campaign against the Moors, to whose expulsion from Spanish soil were directed all the energies and all the resources of the married monarchs, Ferdinand, king of Aragon, and Isabella, queen of Castile and Leon. Armed with a letter from the prior to his friend, Fernando de Talavera, prior of the monastery of Prado and confessor to the queen, Columbus hastened from the convent to the court. Talavera read the letter, shook his dubious head, and bade the disappointed mariner good morning. It is not recorded that he made any mention of the letter to the sovereigns.

MAP OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

1484 1488 At Salamanca

This story is generally placed at the beginning of Columbus's career in Spain, although some authorities assign a later date for his first visit to the convent. According to the journal that Columbus kept on shipboard, he entered the service of Spain on the twentieth of January, 1486. This is not easily reconcilable with other statements from the same source. Mr. Winsor says that "two statements of Columbus agreeing would be a little suspicious." The suppliant seems to have lingered long at Cordova, and finally to have found admittance to the royal presence at Salamanca through the good offices of Medina-Celi, one of the greatest noblemen of the nation, and of Mendoza, his uncle, the archbishop of Toledo and grand cardinal of Spain.

The Council of Salamanca

The Moor was still in Spain, and the war made such demands upon the monarchs that it is rather remarkable that cosmography got any hearing at all. But Ferdinand and Isabella were interested, as King John of Portugal had been, and bade the assembling of a council of astronomers and cosmographers at Salamanca, the Oxford of Spain. There, in the convent of Saint Stephen, the plans and arguments of Columbus were met with suspicion and scholastic sneers, with scriptural texts and quotations from the early fathers of the Christian church.

> And the land of the fabled antipodes
> Were a wonderful land to see,
> Where people stand with their heads on the ground,
> And their feet in the air, while the world spins round —
> And they all laughed merrily.

The learned council reported adversely to the insane idea. It is probable that the importance of this "junta" has been unduly magnified, and there is little foundation for the oft-repeated declaration that Columbus barely escaped conviction as a heretic and sentence to the inquisition. It is said that the monarchs softened the verdict of the council by assuring Columbus that, although they were otherwise occupied at that time, they would be ready to treat with him at the close of the war.

1488
1490

Returns to Portugal

March 20, 1488

August 15, 1488

Tries Spain Once More

December 22, 1489

Then came the weariness of long delay. Disappointed and neglected, tantalized and repulsed, but lured on ever by his great idea and by pittances doled out to him from the royal treasury, Columbus was persistent. At last, almost in despair, he reopened negotiations with the king of Portugal, and was invited by that monarch to return to Lisbon, with royal protection against prosecution. It was natural that he should want to go, for in December, 1487, his brother Bartholomew had returned with Dias and the great news of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. If he went at all, it was after long delay. For months he lingered at Cordova where, before the end of summer, Beatriz Enriquez, not his wife, bore him a son. To this son, Ferdinand, has been attributed the manuscript of the *Historie* that passes as a memoir of his father. Spanish subsidies seem to have ceased in June, Ferdinand was born in August, and a note, supposed to be in the handwriting of Columbus, was dated at Lisbon in December. If he thus passed into Portugal, his stay was short. It is probable that, from 1489 to 1492, he remained in Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella were vigorously pushing the war against the Moors. They wanted India, but Granada must be won. The campaign of that year ended with the surrender of the fortress of Baza with all the territory held by the elder of the rival Moorish kings. In February, 1490, the Spanish sovereigns entered Seville in triumph. The consequent jubilation, and the marriage of the Princess Isabella to the heir of Portugal, were unfavorable to the pressing of the project of a western passage. Moreover, Talavera and a council reported that it did not become great princes to engage in such chimerical undertakings. But the arguments of Columbus had made an impression upon Diego de Deza, one of the councilors and tutor to the heir apparent, Prince Juan. It is thought that, through his influence, the sovereigns, temporizing as before, modified the harsh decision of the council by again explaining to the ardent

1490 navigator that they then were very busily engaged, and
1491 that further consideration of his project must be deferred until the war was over.

Negotiates with England and France

After his failure at Seville, Columbus sought the support of some of the powerful and almost autocratic grandees of Spain, without profit other than a promise from Medina-Celi that if, on some more opportune occasion, another application was made to the crown, he would support it with his influence with the queen. Prior to this, Columbus had sent his brother Bartholomew to England to reopen negotiations with Henry VII., and had been in correspondence with Louis XI. of France. He now determined to go to Paris. He first went to the convent of Santa Maria de Rabida (apparently in the fall of 1491) with the purpose of taking his son Diego thence and leaving him at Cordova with Beatriz and Ferdinand. A consultation of the little circle of friends was held. Martin Pinzon offered to bear the expenses of a new suit at the court, and Columbus agreed to linger at the convent until the result was known.

The Embassy of the Prior

Then Juan Perez, prior, patriot, and friend—to whom some day a reader of this page will build a worthy monument—resolved to see the queen whom he often had confessed. He sent a letter to Isabella. The letter reinforced one that the queen had received from Medina-Celi who had kept his promise. The Spanish sovereigns were then at Santa Fé, in command of the forces investing the Moorish stronghold of Granada. Perez started for their camp the very night that he received the summons of the queen. A friar at midnight, mounted on a mule:

> That was all; and yet through the gloom and the light,
> The fate of a nation was riding that night.

Columbus Called to Court

The prior pleaded so eloquently in behalf of Columbus and Spain that the queen sent for the navigator and accompanied the summons with money for his equipment and expenses. Perez was borne slowly homeward by his "unappreciative donkey who could not be

spurred into any extra celerity, not even with the discovery of a vast continent beckoning him on or kicking at his sides." He soon returned to the court with Columbus under his protection. They arrived at the camp at Santa Fé early in December, 1491, in time to see the surrender of Granada, the extinction of the power that for three-quarters of a thousand years had floated the crescent on Spanish soil. Although Castile and Aragon were united only through the marriage of their sovereigns, they were already Spain; the new nation was ready for a new task. 1491 1492 January 2, 1492

In the tumult and joy that accompanied the submission of the last of the Moorish kings, Columbus was not forgotten. Quintanilla, the minister of finance, became his faithful friend, Cardinal Mendoza was brought into energetic sympathy, and even Talavera developed an appreciation of the oft-rejected plans. The war was over and the time had come. In his interviews with the sovereigns, Columbus insisted on the extravagant demands that had contributed to his ill success in Portugal. Irving says that Columbus was so fully imbued with the grandeur of his enterprise that he would listen to none but princely conditions. In spite of the witcheries of his graceful style, Irving's picture of Columbus is no longer accepted by discriminating students. Winsor states that Irving's "purpose was to create a hero," and refuses to be "blinded to the unwholesome deceit and overweening selfishness" of the Italian. Appreciation at Last

When his interviews with the Spanish sovereigns seemed fruitless, the exacting suitor resolved to go to France, mounted his mule, and set out for La Rabida. Then Santangel, receiver of ecclesiastical revenues, and Quintanilla urged the recall of the departing Columbus. They pictured the shame and loss for Spain if any other monarch should pick up what they had thrown away. Isabella was won; the less gifted Ferdinand was not. The latter said: "Our treasury has been too much drained by the war to warrant us in engaging in the undertaking." To this the queen replied: "I will under- Queen Isabella Pledges her Jewels

1491 take the enterprise for my own crown of Castile and, if
1492 necessary, I will pledge my jewels for the money." The crown jewels of Castile were not put in further pledge; Santangel promptly agreed to advance the money needed, and did so—from the treasury of Aragon, say some; from his private resources, says another.

Columbus before the Monarchs

A messenger was sent; at the bridge of Pinos, two leagues from Granada, Columbus was overtaken; the messenger and the mariner returned. Columbus was granted immediate audience and made a successful plea. We are assured that when, "with a tongue that seemed to be touched with the flame of inspiration, he told the queen of his faith and hope, . . . her face kindled with enthusiasm and beamed with angelic benignity." At the close of the scene, the queen "fervently invoked the blessing of Almighty God upon the person and deeds of Columbus. The navigator stood in awe, with bowed head, before the seeming transfigured sovereign. The colder Ferdinand's soul was warmed, and to the uttered benediction he responded 'Amen.'" It is easy to enter into sympathy with Mr. Lossing's enthusiasm, but Bergenroth's documentary researches have removed not a little of the mellow splendor that the adulation of Irving and Prescott and other admirers has poured about Isabella's character. Mr. Winsor asserts that these Spanish monarchs were ready at perfidy and deceit, and that often the queen was more culpable than the king.

The Agreement

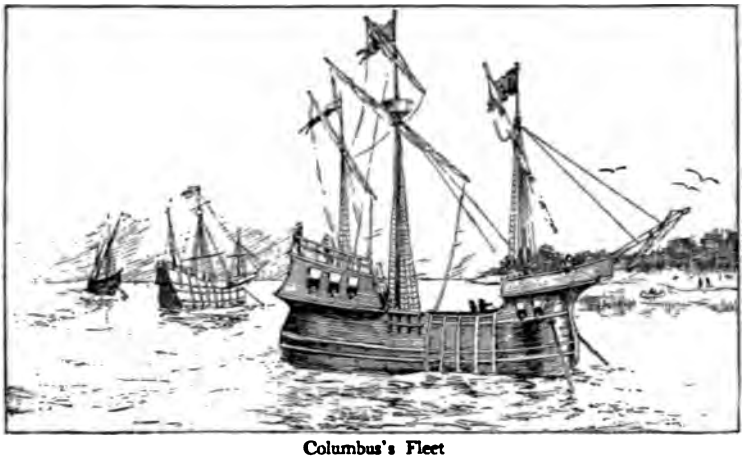
A contract was entered into at Santa Fé on the seventeenth of April, 1492. As lords of the ocean seas, the monarchs constituted Christopher Çolumbus their admiral, viceroy, and governor-general of such islands and continents as he should discover in the western ocean, with the privilege of nominating three candidates, one of whom the crown should name for the government of each of these territories. He was to have exclusive jurisdiction over all commercial transactions within his admiralty. He was to have a tenth of the products and profits within the limits of his discoveries, and an additional eighth if he contributed an eighth of the expense.

By Columbus's commission, which was signed in the newly won Granada a fortnight later, these dignities and emoluments were settled on him and his heirs forever, with the title of Don, which then was more than a mere courteous appellation. These demands seem extravagant, for Columbus was to sail not for unknown regions but for India, the inexhaustible source of wealth, magnificence, and power. In explanation of the submission of the crown goes the story that when, twenty years later, Ponce de Leon demanded for himself concessions like those made to Columbus, Ferdinand replied: "Ah, it is one thing to give a stretch of power when no one anticipates the exercise of it; but we have learned something since then." The archbishop of Granada declared that Columbus's demands savored of the highest degree of arrogance and that it would be unbecoming in their highnesses to grant them. But Ferdinand and Isabella signed the bond, and made the son Diego a page of the royal household. The younger son, Ferdinand, was left in school at Cordova. Columbus then departed for La Rabida with a light heart. 1492 The Commission, April 30, 1492

A royal order, dated on the thirtieth of April, was publicly proclaimed at Palos, which owed some special duty to the crown, commanding the municipal authorities to equip two armed caravels for Columbus and to have them ready for sea within ten days. Many of the Palos seamen fled the city. For weeks, no considerable progress was made, in spite of taking prisoners from the jails and the provision of a royal order to the effect that criminal processes against any person engaged for the voyage were to be suspended until two months after the return. On the twentieth of June, a new order was issued to impress the vessels and crews. Finally, the Pinzon brothers, Martin and Vicente, offered to furnish a third vessel and to go in person on the voyage. This had a good effect and soon the three vessels were ready for sea. It is claimed that Martin Pinzon furnished Columbus with an eighth of the cost as provided by the contract with the sovereigns. A Royal Proclamation

The Pinzons Enlist

1492 The admiral's flag-ship was slow and otherwise unfit
The Fleet for the work in hand. She was decked amidships, had high poop and forecastle, and was rechristened the "Santa Maria"—the name brings to mind the convent and the prior. Her burden was less than two hundred tons, little if anything superior to the small coasting-craft of modern days. Juan de la Cosa was owner and commander, with Sancho Ruiz for his pilot. The other two were caravels, lighter craft and faster sailers. They



Columbus's Fleet

had no decks amidships, but were high and covered at the ends. It is said that they were hardly seaworthy. Martin Alonso Pinzon commanded the "Pinta;" his brother Francisco was his pilot. In the crew were the two owners, ill-natured and ready for mischief. Vicente Yanez Pinzon commanded the "Nina;" caravel and crew had been pressed into service.

The Crew The three vessels carried not more than a hundred and twenty persons, perhaps only ninety. Included in the number were a physician and a surgeon, a notary, a historian, a metallurgist, and an interpreter who was qualified to converse in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Coptic, or Armenian, as best fitted the attainments of the great Asiatic potentates whom they were about to visit. There was no priest to shrive the

Christian dead or to baptize the heathen living, but prior to their departure Juan Perez ministered to the admiral and his company in the matters of confession and communion. The fleet had a total tonnage less than that of the average lumber-schooner of the great lakes, and not more than a tenth as great as that of one of the steel steamers that carry grain and iron ore upon those inland seas. As the cost of the expedition was less than four thousand dollars, which reckoned by its purchasing power was equivalent to not more than fifty thousand dollars of today, we may wonder at the eighteen years' delay. The wonder will grow if we forget the almost universal doubt as to the soundness of the project, the imagined terrors of the voyage, and the extravagance of the demands that Columbus made for himself.

1492

The Cost

CHAPTER VIII

COLUMBUS'S FIRST VOYAGE

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence.— DANIEL WEBSTER.

An Epoch

THE fleet of three little vessels sailed from Palos at six o'clock in the morning of Friday, the third of August, 1492. Centuries later, another "Santa Maria," built in imitation of the flag-ship of Columbus, set sail from Palos at six o'clock in the morning, escorted to the sea by a Spanish flotilla of fifteen war-ships. At the old monastery that had given shelter to the great admiral, were flying the flags of forty-four American states and, as the fleet passed by, the stars and stripes were raised and the following messages exchanged:

International Courtesies

LA RABIDA.

The President:

Four hundred years ago today, Columbus sailed from Palos, discovering America. The United States flag is being hoisted this moment in front of convent La Rabida, along with banners of all American states. Batteries and ships saluting, accompanied by enthusiastic acclamations of the people, army, and navy. God bless America!

PRIETO,
Alcalde of Palos.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, August 3, 1892.

Senor Prieto, Alcalde de Palos, La Rabida, Spain:

The president of the United States directs me to cordially acknowledge your message of greeting. Upon this memorable day, thus fittingly celebrated, the people of the new western world, in grateful reverence to the name and fame of Columbus, join hands with the sons of the brave sailors of Palos and Huelva, who manned the discoverer's caravels.

FOSTER,
Secretary of State.

As the "Santa Maria" of 1892 reached the sea, she met the assembled squadrons of other nations and passed between their lines amid salutes and cheers. In 1492, Palos was a port of considerable importance. In 1892, decayed wharves told their story of lost commerce, and the Rio Tinto and its towns had no claim to distinction save in their past. 1492

Map of the Spanish Coast between Huelva and Cadiz

The Southern Route

Columbus's voyage to the Canaries was without special incident other than an accident to the rudder of the "Pinta." He may have run thus far southward because Toscanelli had put the Canaries in the latitude of Cipango. If he had sailed westward from Palos, he would probably have met serious disappointment, for winds and currents set directly from American shores to the coasts of western Europe, as a glance at the seaman's chart will show. Thus does history often hang on physical conditions. As it was, he secured the advantage of the northeast trade-winds and some help from the equatorial current, a distinct and steady drift of intertropical surface-waters from the African to the American side of the Atlantic basin. After making the necessary repairs to his ships, Columbus sailed from the Canaries on the morning of Thursday, the sixth of September. He escaped the Portuguese caravels that were reported as lying in wait with hostile purpose. Dry land soon dropped below the horizon astern and Columbus was plowing the unknown and dreaded waters of the western ocean. Winds and waves were in good humor. For eleven days, easterly trade-winds filled the sails; then came gentle southwest breezes and the dreaded calms. Day after day passed by, and night

Departure from Gomera

1492 after night the sun set in the western ocean as it had done the night before. Discontent and mutiny appeared and were calmly met with kind and hopeful words, tempting promises, or timely threats.

Sailors' Superstitions

When we think of the well-known superstitions of sailors in our own day we shall not wonder at those of the ignorant seamen of that less enlightened age. Even the great admiral described three mermaids, and made mention of men, some with tails, some with heads of dogs, and others with one eye apiece. The crews of flag-ship and caravels were familiar with all the stories of the Sea of Darkness that we have recorded and many more. When they sailed into the "Sargasso Sea," a vast ocean tract of gulfweed, they imagined the slime of the fabled Atlantis beneath their keel and dreamed of hideous monsters rising from the ooze.

> And they spoke of the terrors that lay between,
> Of the hurricanes born of hell,
> Of the sunless seas that forever roar
> Where the moon had perished long years before,
> When an evil spirit fell.

Even the benignant trade-winds always blew from home and it would be impossible to return along the inclined plane down which they then were sailing. Late in September, these fears were partly swept away by west winds that showed a possible return to Spain.

Columbine Frauds

During the voyage, Columbus kept two records of his progress. One was a dead reckoning, which then depended on observation by the eye alone but which he made as accurate as possible; the other was made to tell a daily lie for fear that his followers would become alarmed if they knew how far they were from the meridian of Palos. Reputable writers have declared that the precaution was fully justified by the circumstances.

September 13–17

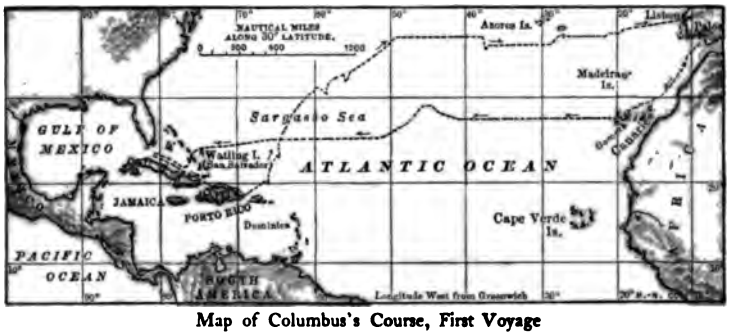
When it was observed that the variation of the compass had changed from westerly to easterly and the sailors were alarmed thereby, the admiral explained to the credulous crew that the polar star and not the needle was in an abnormal condition. The explanation had in

it an unsuspected element of truth. The variation of the needle must have been known to sailors, but Columbus discovered the line-of-no-variation. 1492

> Like some old alchemist whose toilsome years
> Had stamped endurance on his iron brow,
> Within whose breast, high-hoping, thwarted oft,
> Had calmed to patient trust, resolved he stood,
> A grand, gray-headed man.

A New Course

After sailing about two hundred miles beyond the imagined longitude of Cipango, the flight of birds and the urging of the elder Pinzon led Columbus to turn his prows toward the southwest. Had he continued to



Map of Columbus's Course, First Voyage

steer westward, he would probably have entered the Gulf Stream and been borne to Florida and thence to Cape Hatteras and Virginia. In that event, the United States might have been given a Catholic Spanish instead of a Protestant English population. Never has a flight of birds been attended by more important results.

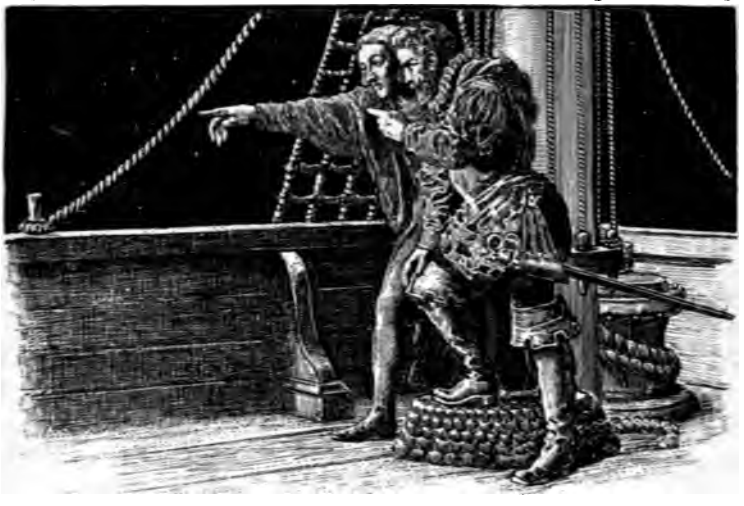
At the evening hour of the eleventh of October, signs of land near by, a carved stick, and a hawthorn branch raised hopes that drowned all thoughts of insurrection. Every one was on the eager watch; none more eager than the admiral. The scene is thus described by Herrera: "And Christopher Columbus, being now sure that he was not far off, as the night came on, after singing the *Salve Regina* as is usual with mariners, addressed them all and said that, since God had given them grace to make so long a voyage in safety, and

Hope

1492 since the signs of land were becoming steadily more frequent, he would beg them to keep watch all night. And they knew well that the first chapter of the orders that he had issued to them on leaving Castile provided that, after sailing seven hundred leagues without making land, they should only sail thenceforth from the following midnight to the next day; and that they should pass the time in prayer, because he trusted in God that during that night they should discover land; and that, besides the income of ten thousand maravedis that their highnesses had promised to him who should make the first discovery, he would give, for his part, a velvet jerkin."

Fruition

About ten o'clock that night, Columbus, from the high poop of the "Santa Maria," saw a glimmering



Columbus Sighting the Light

light ahead and directed that a vigilant watch be kept on the forecastle. At two o'clock on the morning of the twelfth, a gun fired from the "Pinta" announced the joyful news of land in sight. Columbus claimed the discovery, kept the velvet jerkin, and received the maravedis; poor Rodrigo, disgusted with Christian promises, became a Mohammedan in despair—at least,

so the story goes. Mr. Winsor sees a sort of retributive justice in the fact that the pension of the crown was made a charge upon the shambles of Seville. 1492

In his journal, Columbus says that on this Thursday they encountered a "heavier sea than they had met with before on the whole voyage," and that "after sunset they sailed twelve miles an hour until two hours after midnight, going ninety miles." When, at two o'clock in the morning, Rodrigo de Triana sighted land two leagues distant (its direction from the ship is not recorded), the mariners "took in sail and remained under square sail, lying to till day." With what impatience the dawn must have been awaited! Who can comprehend the emotions of Columbus in those hours? The wisdom and the sublime faith, the persistence and the enthusiasm that for eighteen years had kept him from despair, had guided him to triumph—triumph over the sneers of monks and scoffs of sages, triumph over the treachery and doubts of monarchs, triumph over the errors of ages and the superstitions of millions, a triumph that revealed the great mystery of the ocean and realized the visions of a lifetime. There before him in the gloom of early morning lay the Indies, with all the opulence and splendor of her palaces and cities. There in peaceful slumber lay the countless millions to whom he had come as the messenger of the glad tidings of salvation. He thought that he had discovered a new route to India. He knew not, nor did he ever know, that he had found a world and not a way. He had sailed upon the unknown sea to seek the El Dorado of wealth and power and had found instead the battle-field of liberty. The Dawn

> Fair lay the land; all green and dewy, fresh
> As if but yesterday the morning stars
> Had o'er its birth their hallelujahs sung,
> Creation's latest labor and her best.

The landing was made at sunrise, on the twelfth of October, 1492. (The date is thus written according to the "old style;" according to the Gregorian calendar, The Day

1492 i.e., "new style," now in general use, the date would be October 21.) He who for years had worn the garb of poverty now was clad in scarlet and in gold; he

The Landing of Columbus

who at the convent gate had begged for water and a crust of bread now bore Spain's royal standard with its ominous hues of gold and blood. Then came his captains, Martin and Vicente Pinzon, each with the white silk banner of the expedition, on which were displayed the initials of Ferdinand and Ysabella, each letter surmounted by a golden crown. Then the officers and men all knelt and kissed the earth and chanted the *Te Deum Laudamus.*

In robes of scarlet and princely gold,
On the New World's land they kneel;
In the name of Christ, whom all adore,
They christened the island San Salvador,
For the crown of their own Castile.

The Landfall

Columbus understood the native name of the island to be Guanahani. The precise location of the landfall has been the subject of much controversy. It has been claimed for nearly all the eastward lying Bahama Islands, from Cat Island to the Grand Turk. For several years prior to 1890, it was generally held that Cat Island was the first land seen by Columbus. Few can be investigators, and most readers were content with the charming story of Irving and the authority of Humboldt. But

during the last decade of the nineteenth century, the opinion of scholars drifted toward a belief that the landfall was on Watling, an island that is about twelve miles long and from four to six miles in breadth. In 1891, a column surmounted by a marble globe was erected to mark the spot where it was supposed that Columbus landed. The later investigations of Rudolf Cronau, an enterprising German traveler and historian, seem to establish as a fact that the landing was made at or near Riding Rocks, on the western coast of the island. 1492

Map Showing Columbus's Course after his Landfall
(With Map of Watling Island in Corner)

From the deep shadows of the forest the timid natives watched the newcomers, and thought them to be superior beings descended from the skies. As fear wore away, they drew near with signs of peace and good will. Their dusky forms were clad in scanty pigments of varying color and device; their hair was coarse and black, short

A New Race

[illegible]

narrow entrance. There are some shoals within; but the water is as smooth as a pond." Attracted by bits of gold worn by some of the islanders, Columbus made inquiry and understood from their signs that a greater abundance of that metal could be found on an island at the south. In narrating this incident, Sir Arthur Helps remarks that, if the poor wretches had possessed the gift of prophecy, they would have thrown the baubles into the sea. 1492

The Voyage Continued

Lured by the foretaste of gold and the hope of finding the richer Cipango, and having seized some of the natives and recorded an intimation of using force to make them serve their new masters, Columbus soon pushed on to other islands; his course has been as much disputed as his landfall. Frequent landings were made and formal possession was taken in the name of the Spanish sovereigns. There were many reports of gold and gold-mines somewhere else not far away. The admiral's journal of this first voyage, which is known to us only through the abridgment made by Las Casas, is well marked with frequent expressions of his hope

Map of the West Indies

that, "with the help of our Lord," he might find gold, but not a word now of the conversion of the heathen. Occasionally a native was picked up, loaded with cheap

1492 presents, and put ashore—a well-played and sometimes successful ruse of friendship. One island (probably Long Island) he called Fernandina, and another (possibly Crooked Island) he called Isabella. Sailing from this latter island on the twenty-fourth of October, they landed on the twenty-sixth within the mouth of a river near the eastern end of what, in honor of the prince, he called Juana, the Cuba of today. This anchorage is probably that now known as Puerto de Naranjo. Here the welcome stories of gold were for the first time set with pearls.

In Cuba

Thence Columbus coasted westward. The expected king did not send the hoped-for welcome, and the gold remained elusive. Columbus, therefore, sent an embassy into the interior to seek intelligence concerning the dominions of the grand khan. Some of these envoys found the natives smoking tobacco. The discovery was then deemed unimportant, but it proved more productive to Spain than the gold for which Columbus searched so eagerly. Having careened his ships on a

November 12

quiet beach and cleaned their bottoms, Columbus started in search of a place called Babeque, "where gold was collected at night by torch-light upon the shore, and afterward hammered into bars." He retraced his track and thus failed to prove that Cuba was an island and not the continental country of Cathay. By this time, the enslaved natives had become acquiescent.

Pinzon's Desertion

The ships sailed east by south and cruised for several days among the islands of the archipelago known as the King's Garden. Here Martin Alonso Pinzon deserted with the "Pinta" to find the gold of which he had heard. It was not his first act of insubordination. As he skirted the northeast coast of Cuba, Columbus noted the harbors in some of which he anchored, explored some of the rivers, and resolved to master the language of the frightened natives, in which way "we can learn the riches of the country and make endeavors to convert these people to our religion, for they are without even the faith of an idolater." He

reached the eastern end of the island on the fifth of December, 1492, looked around its southern side, and at the southeast observed the island of Haiti which he called Espanola. The "Nina" was sent to search the shore of this lofty island and to find a landing-place. The next morning, the "Santa Maria" entered the harbor now known as Saint Nicholas. The country and its mountains and birds and trees looked "like those of Castile." At the middle of the month, they sailed out of this magnificent harbor, which Columbus said could easily accommodate a thousand caracks (like the "Santa Maria"), landed on the neighboring island that he named Tortuga, and passed along the channel between the two islands. 1492 Haiti

Casting anchor near a village, Columbus set ashore a captive Indian with the usual gifts. The natives who quickly gathered on the beach were informed that the visitors had come from heaven and were going to Babeque to find gold. The Spaniards got the bits of gold that the islanders wore at ear and nose, and were informed that if they sailed in a certain course two days they would arrive at their goal. This is the last we hear of Babeque. On the eighteenth of December, the admiral entertained the cacique (the first occurrence of the word) and heard of an island that was all gold. He wrote in his journal: "Our Lord, in whose hands are all things, be my help. Our Lord, in His mercy, direct me where I may find the gold mine." He heard of a place further east, Cibao, where the king's banners were made of plates of gold. It was promptly identified with Cipango and proved to be the place where the best mines were found. On account of religious scruples, Columbus ordinarily refrained from sailing on Sunday. The next day was Sunday and, with the fresh inspiration of Cibao, he sailed along the coast "in order to display the symbols of redemption." Gold and Redemption December 23

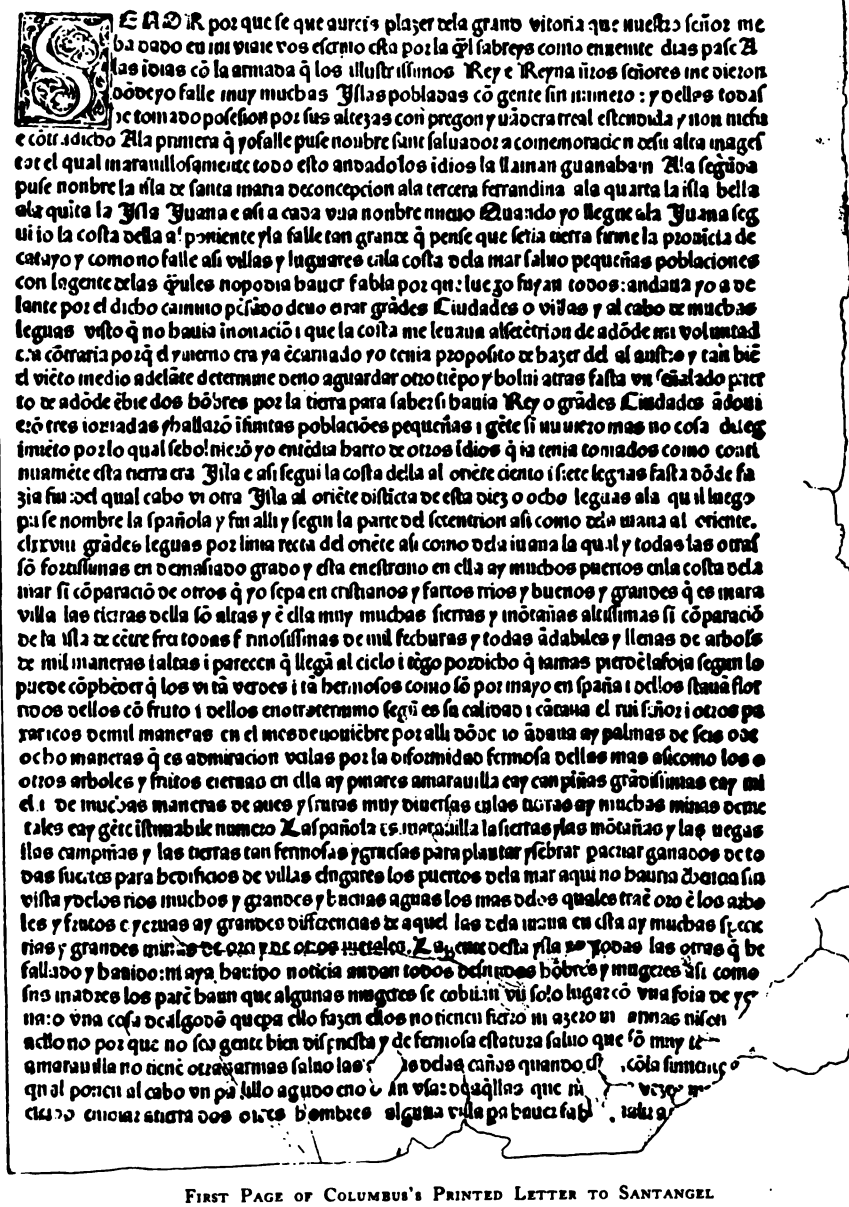
On Christmas eve, all seemed well with the flag-ship and the "Nina." The weary admiral went to bed and the crew of the "Santa Maria" closely followed his The Wreck of the "Santa Maria"

1493 only potentate who had authority to confirm a trespass on the possessions of the heathen. Columbus returned to his caravel with an escort of knights, put to sea on the thirteenth, and, at noon of the fifteenth of March, 1493, after an absence of more than seven months, again cast anchor in the port of Palos.

Columbus Commemorative Medal

At Palos Again

While Columbus had been cruising in the gentle waters of his Indian islands, the coasts of western Europe had been storm-swept. The winter had been one of unusual severity, and for months Palos had been filled with deep anxiety for the safety of those who in August had sailed out into the unknown sea. When the "Nina" returned, exultation sat in the seat of despondency, as a way was opened through the throng for the votive procession to the church. Two score had been left at La Navidad, and the "Pinta" and her crew had not been seen since the parting in the gale. But assurances of the safety and comfort of the colonists were not difficult to give, and, before the rejoicings of the day were over, the missing caravel arrived and relieved all anxiety on that score. The "Pinta" had been driven by the gale to the northwestern corner of Spain, whence Pinzon sent a messenger to announce his intended visit to the court. A royal order held him in check and saved the honor of the first announcement for Columbus. The "Pinta" sailed to Palos, where Pinzon remained in humiliation and retirement until Columbus had left for Barcelona. Not many days



First Page of Columbus's Printed Letter to Santangel

1493 later, he died in his own house, an alleged victim of mortification induced by royal neglect and displeasure.

At Seville

Instead of sailing to Barcelona where the Spanish court then was, Columbus prudently sent a messenger, and with six of his native prisoners proceeded to Seville to await the commands of the monarchs. His reception at Seville was elaborate and enthusiastic. On the thirtieth of March, he received the expected summons. He was instructed to begin preparations for a new expedition and then to appear at court. Although so little reliable information concerning the events of the next few weeks has come down to us that the modern iconoclasts doubt whether the recognition of the importance of the discovery was at all general, it appears that the advance report had made a deep impression at the court. The king and queen looked upon the Columbian discoveries and their own conquest of the Moors as special marks of the favor of God. Having arranged for the preparation of another fleet, the admiral set out from Seville for Barcelona. The journey was a triumphal march; from city, town, and country-side the people crowded forward to gratify their curiosity and to do homage to the man who had given India to Spain.

At Barcelona

By the middle of April, and accompanied by a joyous throng, Columbus entered Barcelona. Leading the line were the Indians with their ornaments of gold. Porters followed with the somewhat scanty plunder of the Indies. Then, on horseback, came Columbus and the chivalry of Spain. Thus through crowded streets to the alcazar of the Moorish kings and into the presence of the waiting Ferdinand and Isabella.

A Royal Reception

As the admiral approached the thrones, the monarchs rose and received him with marked consideration. The narration of the great discoverer followed. Crowned heads bow as the story is told; courtly cavaliers listen in breathless silence; the conquerors of Granada acknowledge a superior in the conqueror of the mighty deep. Then the sovereigns and all engaged in prayer, and the choir of the royal chapel chanted the *Te Deum*. "Not

when the crescent-flag was taken from Granada's towering battlements, not when the Alhambra's marble courts were ringing with the tread of the red-cross victors of the Moor, . . . did adoration more exultant swell." Then Columbus was conducted as a royal guest to his lodgings. During his sojourn in Barcelona he was high in royal favor. He rode in public with the king, and at a banquet given by Cardinal Mendoza laid the foundation for the well-known story of the egg—a story that "loses its point in the destruction of the end on which the aim was to make it stand." He was awarded a pension for seeing the light at ten o'clock at night while Rodrigo did not see the land until two. Irving would condone the theft because Columbus's "whole ambition was involved," while Winsor seems to think that "his whole character was involved."

1493

Post-prandial Humor

The Arms of Columbus

On the twentieth of May, the sovereigns bestowed a coat of arms on him who had brought them such a direct reward from heaven for their conquest of the Moor and their banishment of the Jew. The glory and barbaric pomp were for but a day; they never were repeated. At Granada and at San Salvador, Columbus had won. His success entailed miseries upon him and his line, and the outcome to Spain was long-continued reproach and final humiliation.

The Glory of a Day

1492–1898

And so from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe,
And then from hour to hour, we rot and rot,
And thereby hangs a tale.

CHAPTER IX

DIPLOMACY AND PREPARATION

An Appeal to the Pope

AT Valparaiso, King John reminded Columbus that, by the treaty of 1479, the newly discovered lands belonged to him. Columbus replied that he had not been in the direction of Guinea. Very likely the remark of the king was reported to Ferdinand and Isabella. Possibly King John took some action to maintain his claim. At all events, Ferdinand did not delay in bringing the matter to the attention of the pope. Remembering the concessions made to Portugal by existing papal bulls, the Spanish ambassadors at Rome were instructed to state explicitly that the new discoveries did not encroach on the rights of Portugal, and that their Catholic majesties desired his holiness to grant them the lands already discovered and others that should be discovered.

The Bull of Donation, May 3, 1493

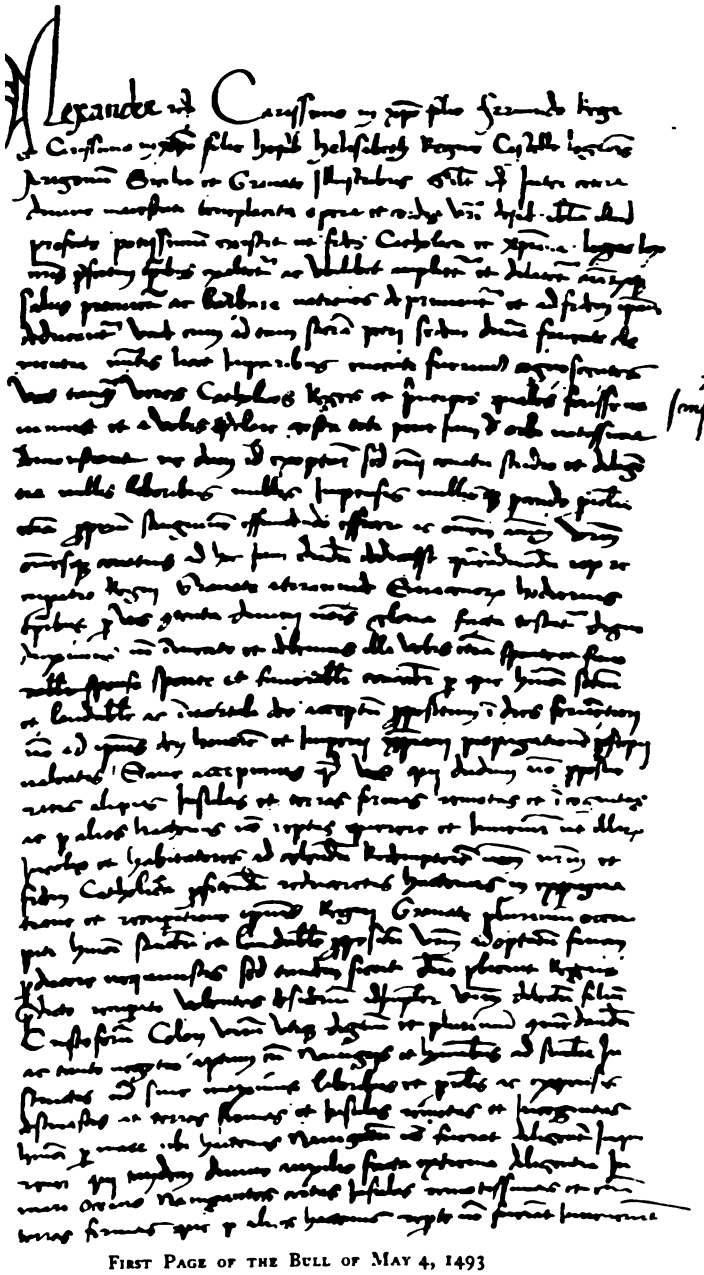
Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia) issued the asked-for bull under date of the third of May, 1493. This interesting and short-lived grant confirmed Spain in full possession of all lands discovered and to be discovered that were not under the dominion of Christian princes. The donation was made because, among works agreeable to Divine Majesty, one is that "barbarous nations should be subjugated and converted to the Catholic faith. . . . Further, because some of the kings of Portugal have acquired rights in parts of Africa through the apostolic see, we grant you and your successors exactly the same rights just as fully as if here expressed in detail."

There was no reference to any dividing line; the bull put no limit except the domination of a Christian prince. The bull was accompanied by another, a condensation of the former—a "brief" or sort of papal bull for common use. Mr. Harrisse calls these bulls of the third of May "the starting-point of the diplomatic history of America." It is possible that King John, as well as the Spanish monarchs, was represented at Rome, and that, when the bulls appeared, his envoy or ambassador protested against such a diminution of the rights that earlier bulls had conferred on Portugal. Mr. Harrisse, however, thinks it improbable that the restriction that quickly came was due to any outside influence that could have arisen and culminated in twenty-four hours, "as any one at all familiar with the dilatory habits of the court of Rome will readily believe." 1493

Alexander VI

The Bull of Demarcation, May 4

On the next day, the bulls of the third of May were followed by another that omitted the unlimited grants and equal rights conferred by the former. Perhaps the papal archives could reveal the secret of the sudden change. This third bull pushed the margin of the Spanish dominion of the Atlantic from the seaboard of Europe to a meridian one hundred leagues west and south of the Azores and of Cape Verde. As the Azores and Cape Verde, or even the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, differ both in latitude and longitude, the language of the bull is not a little puzzling. All heathen lands discovered and to be discovered to the west and south of this line should belong exclusively to Spain. This papal suggestion



First Page of the Bull of May 4, 1493

of a point south of a meridian further emphasizes the mistiness of geographical ideas then prevalent. By accident or with a desire for a scientific frontier, the pope chose the meridian that passes through the point where Columbus observed that the magnetic needle pointed toward the north star. It seems to have been assumed that the agonic line that Columbus found was unique and a true north-and-south line. If its choice was more than a mere coincidence, it certifies to another papal error, for, if the eccentric movements of the line-of-no-variation had been as well known then as they are now, the binational survey would not have been started from a point floating in the ocean. Portugal is not mentioned in connection with this line of demarcation, but it was understood that like rights were reserved to her on the east side of the meridian in question. The bull did not bother with the division that a great circle would make on the other side of the earth. One pope, two kings, and a queen were seemingly free from even a dream of complications between "east" and "west" in antipodal realms. The immediate effect of the bull was to confine Portuguese explorations to the African coast and the adjacent islands.

1493

September 13, 1492

With the recognition of the rotundity of the earth, even India was conceded to Spain, for Rome had failed to indicate where the west should end. Like most compromises, the decision proved unsatisfactory to both parties to the controversy; it was soon amended. At the time these bulls were issued, the fundamental authority of the holy see was recognized by European nations in general and by England in particular. Earthly potentates might send out expeditions to find regions unknown of Christians, but when the discoveries were accomplished, they required confirmation from the pope. A failure to keep in mind the unclipped potency of the Roman church, "the most majestic and powerful of all historic human creations," carries with it a loss of the key to the history of Europe for ten centuries.

The Papal Authority

The Portuguese were not satisfied that the rectitude

1493 of the magnet should limit their search, and an interesting game of diplomacy followed. King John sent an ambassador to Spain and King Ferdinand one to Lisbon. The Spanish game was the better played, for King John promised that, pending the negotiations, no Portuguese vessel should sail on any voyage of discovery for sixty days. Ferdinand then shrewdly sent a fresh embassy with instructions to move slowly and to protract the discussion. Meanwhile, Columbus was pushing preparations for his second voyage.

Ferdinand's Shrewd Diplomacy

Council for the Indies

Before leaving Barcelona, Columbus had received a large gratuity from the Spanish sovereigns, and a confirmation of the contracts made the previous year at Santa Fé. He was even trusted with a royal seal for his official use. He left Barcelona on the twenty-eighth of May. Early in June, he was in Seville, where he was soon joined by Don Juan de Fonseca, representative of the crown and chief director of the preparations. From the measures now adopted for the regulation of the expected commerce, grew what is known as the council for the Indies, and the casa de contratacion of Seville, i.e., the India house. Whatever title the papal bull had conferred lay in Ferdinand and Isabella, not in the Spanish nation. Of course, the idea of governmental power emanating from the governed had no application—perhaps no existence. The subsequent administration of political and ecclesiastical affairs in Spanish America was conducted on the theory that the monarchs were the only source of authority. The two institutions just mentioned sprang up as a consequence of this fundamental fact of Spanish policy. With its eight members under the direction of Fonseca, the council for the Indies managed the political affairs of the newly discovered lands.

The plan of the king to subject the trade with America to a rigid monopoly gave rise to the second institution, which was created to take immediate control of economic affairs. Its beginnings, the exchange of Seville and the custom-house of Cadiz, were established prior to Columbus's second voyage. The casa de contratacion was

Casa de Contratacion

definitely established at Seville in 1503. From its decisions appeals might be taken only to the council for the Indies, which might be presided over by the king. No one was to be allowed to trade with the new regions without license from the monarchs, Columbus, or Fonseca. Fonseca was an archdeacon, but he was quite as worldly, selfish, and unscrupulous as were they with whom he had to deal. As the official guardian of the royal treasury, he soon felt called upon to check the immoderate personal demands of the admiral. It seems that the monarchs sided with Columbus—an offense on the part of the latter that the watch-dog of the treasury never forgot and never forgave. 1493

The Recruits

There was now no need of forcing any one to go. Columbus said: "There is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg to be allowed to become a discoverer." Many a cavalier took service without promise of pay, but there was a sorry lack of artisans and laborers. The original complement of twelve hundred was swelled by importunity to fifteen hundred. Among them were Alonso de Ojeda; Diego, the brother of the admiral; Juan de la Cosa, who had been the owner and pilot of the "Santa Maria" and was to be the cartographer of the Columbian discoveries; Juan Ponce de Leon, and others whose names we shall encounter again. The twenty-fifth of September dawned before everything was ready.

Active Preparation

By royal order, Columbus and Fonseca were empowered to impress in the ports of Andalusia ships and persons as might be required for the service. The ecclesiastical tithes were drawn upon, the sequestered estates of the lately banished Jews were utilized, and a loan of five million maravedis was negotiated. Artillery and military stores were speedily collected, and a fleet of fourteen caravels and three caracks put in readiness. Some of the caravels were especially designed for exploring service. Horses and other domestic animals, seeds and agricultural implements, goods for barter with the Indians, and the many necessaries of colonial life were provided.

A maravedi is equivalent to about a quarter of a cent

1493 Among those engaged in this work of preparation was Juonato Beradi (or Berardi), a Florentine merchant who had then for several years been domiciled in Seville. Connected in some way with this commercial house was

Americus Vespucius

Americus Vespucius, another Florentine, who had come to Spain as the agent of the Medici. Six of the ten Indians whom Columbus had brought from the West were taken to Barcelona and given Christian baptism with royal sponsors. The pope made Father Bernardo Buil, a Benedictine monk, his apostolic vicar for the Indies; with the vicar went eleven of his brethren. The queen gave them the sacred vessels and vestments from her own altar and instructed Columbus to treat the Indians with love and kindness.

Watching and Praying

Meanwhile the diplomatic game was going on. When Ferdinand and Isabella heard of a new Portuguese fleet they asked for an explanation, and directed Fonseca to cause the armaments of Portugal to be watched and, should a fleet really be fitted out, to have one twice as strong prepared to accompany Columbus. Meanwhile they were planning for an extension of the bull of the fourth of May. Before the papal nuncio had delivered that bull to Ferdinand and Isabella, they had sent to Rome an embassy of obedience for the purpose of giving the recently elected pope assurances of filial allegiance and submission according to the custom of Christian princes. Possibly these professions of loyalty and the fact that Pope Alexander was Spanish-born had some effect, for when the Spanish monarchs requested that the bull of demarcation be amended in the matter of the margin of a hundred leagues, the pope granted their request.

The Bull of Extension, September 25, 1493

A fourth bull, known as the bull of extension, was issued under date of the twenty-fifth of September, the day on which Columbus sailed on his second voyage. In this bull, of which no contemporary manuscript is extant, the pope said to the Catholic sovereigns: "We amplify the donation and extend it with all its clauses to all the islands and mainland whatever, discovered or

to be discovered, which in sailing westward or southward are or appear in the western or southern or eastern parts and in those of India." The only route to India left to Portugal was by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Harrisse remarks that, if the belief that the Atlantic extended to Asiatic regions was founded in fact, Spain would have been the absolute, rightful sovereign of all those countries, the bulls issued in favor of Portugal by Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. to the contrary notwithstanding. This conclusion seems unavoidable, for the bull made the extension "notwithstanding all apostolical constitutions and ordinances, and whatever donations, concessions, powers, and assignments made by us, or by our predecessors," to any persons "and for any cause whatsoever." The line of demarcation was virtually superseded, and the validity of the rights of discovery and conquest established. 1493 1494

Convention of Tordesilhas

As the pope would not recede from the position taken in the bull of extension, the disappointment in Lisbon was very great. Both sides were anxious to avoid hostilities and, in March of the following year, Portuguese commissioners went to Barcelona to negotiate a treaty. On the fifth of June, the Spanish monarchs appointed commissioners who, two days later, executed at Tordesilhas, a town of Old Castile, the treaty that bears its name. Spain and Portugal felt that they were at liberty to modify their rights secured by papal concession if they could do so by common consent. In the treaty that they made on this basis, the contracting parties stipulate, without any reference to papal bulls or previous partition of unknown lands, "that in the ocean sea there shall be drawn and marked a band or line, straight from pole to pole, . . . three hundred and seventy leagues west from Cape Verde Islands, by degrees or otherwise, as best or more promptly can be done." It was further agreed that, within ten months, Spain and Portugal should send experts to the Gran Canaria, thence to proceed due west for the agreed distance and to mark the limit. If the line ran through

1494

June 7, 1494

minate as "the Azores and Cape Verde" of the bull of demarcation, "the Cape Verde Islands" still left a range of possibilities of nearly three degrees of longitude. With varying estimates of the value of a degree and the length of a league, and the crude and inaccurate methods of determining longitude (chronometers had not yet been invented and astronomical tables were very defective), and with the ambiguity of the starting-point, the problem presented insuperable difficulties. The line was never actually drawn. It has been claimed that, if it had been, it would run about a hundred and fifty miles west of Rio de Janeiro—a mere approximation at the best. 1494

Effects of the Papal Bulls

It was supposed that the new dividing-line would lie about midway between the Cape Verde Islands and the new discoveries. No one then suspected that south of Haiti there was a continent stretching much further eastward. Ferdinand and Isabella doubtless felt that they had an abundant margin of safety for their concession of two hundred and seventy leagues. As it turned out, the change made by this last partition of the ocean gave Brazil to Portugal. After Da Gama's opening of the African route to India and Magellan's circumnavigation of the earth had brought Spaniard and Portuguese face to face in the antipodes, the position of the line became a fruitful source of dispute and negotiation. Today, neither of these nations has any territory in the western hemisphere, although Portuguese is the common language of Brazil, and nearly all the rest of South and Central America and Mexico speak Spanish—a forcible reminder of the papal distribution. 1519–22

CHAPTER X

COLUMBUS'S SECOND VOYAGE

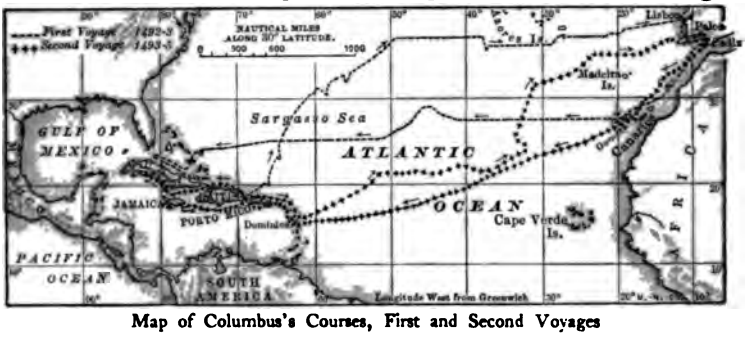
ON the twenty-fifth of September, 1493, Columbus hoisted his flag on the "Marigalante," a slow-sailing ship of four hundred tons. Then the fleet, with its escort of Venetian galleys, was wafted from the Bay of Cadiz out upon the ocean. In striking contrast to the melancholy plight of the year before, the decks were crowded with representatives of almost every rank and calling. Commanding all was the Genoese viceroy, as much of an adventurer as any of the others.

From the Canaries to Guadeloupe

On the first of October, the fleet reached the Canaries, where a leaky ship was repaired, and fresh stores were taken on board. On the seventh, the fleet left Gomera; a few days later, the glorified admiral was once more beyond the furthest outpost of the Old World. With La Navidad as his prospective port, Columbus took a more southerly course than before, leaving the weeds of the Sargasso Sea to the north. On the second of November, signs of land were seen. In the early morning of the third, a lofty mountain on an island was sighted. This day was Sunday, in remembrance of which the admiral named the island Dominica. Another island he named, for his ship, Marigalante. Here a landing was made and formal possession was taken of the six islands that had been seen. The next day, they found an island with a volcanic peak on the sides of which were cascades; in accordance with a promise made to Spanish monks, Columbus named it Guadeloupe.

Here another landing was made and a week of exploration begun. 1493

Welcome evidence was found to show that the Spaniards were in the country of the cannibals of whom Columbus had heard on the first voyage. The story of cannibalism would impress Europe with wonder and go From Guadeloupe to Haiti



Map of Columbus's Courses, First and Second Voyages

far toward justifying the now historic facts of merciless cruelty. Certainly, these fierce Caribs were very different from the timid natives of San Salvador, Juana, and Espanola. Sailing northwest from Guadeloupe, anchor was cast four days later at an island that Columbus named November 14
Santa Cruz. Passing a group of islands that were named for Saint Ursula and her virgins, the explorers came to the island now known as Porto Rico, but to which the admiral gave the name of Saint John the Baptist. On the twenty-second of November, the eastern end of Haiti was reached. On the northern coast of this island, at the place of his fight with the natives in the previous year, Columbus set ashore one of the Indians who had been baptized at Barcelona. The convert and the presents that he bore promptly disappeared from history. Only one of the Indian converts remained; of those who left Spain, the others had died on the voyage.

On the twenty-seventh of November, the fleet was off La Navidad. It was after dark when anchor was cast about a league from land. When the cannons that were fired brought no response, and no lights were Darkness and Disaster

1493 displayed on shore, the situation became painful. Midnight brought a messenger from Guacanagari, the cacique who had rendered friendly aid when the "Santa Maria" was wrecked. The Spanish fort and the neighboring Indian village had been attacked by Caonabo, the Carib chief of the mountain tribes. The garrison had been killed. Fort and village had been burned. The friendly cacique had been wounded but would come to Columbus in the morning.

The Fort in Ruins

At dawn, a boat was sent ashore. The blackened ruins of the fort were found, but there were no welcoming natives, and the cacique did not make his promised call. The next morning Columbus landed, and found the village of the cacique in ruins. A few of the natives were lured near enough to talk, and Columbus soon obtained a pretty clear idea of what had happened. The Spaniards that he had left in the garrison had repaid the Indians for many a deed of kindness with many an act of sensuality and cruelty, and then had quarreled among themselves. When in revolt some of them left the fort and went in search of the gold-mines of Cibao, they were seized and killed by Caonabo. Then came a sudden night attack and terrible disaster. The ruins of the fort and village left little doubt of the truth of the story. Even the friendly cacique, Guacanagari, soon learned to distrust Caucasian goodness and fled to the interior of the island.

The Town of Isabella

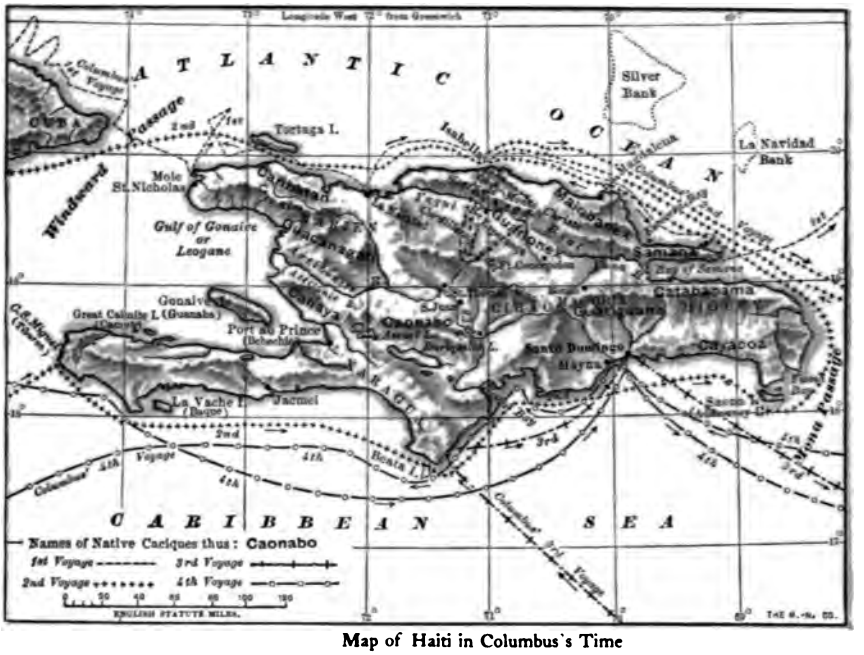
On the seventh of December, the fleet sailed eastward. A harbor favorable for a town was found and the disembarkation was begun. From the first, the settlement bore the name of Isabella. A town was laid out, houses and piers were hastily built, fields were cleared, and orchards planted. The unaccustomed labor, the malaria, and other causes wore out many. Even Columbus fell sick. By the time that the condition of the colony became a little better, the ships were ready for their return. For the cargo of gold that the colony at La Navidad was to have accumulated and that Spain was now expecting, the tale of disaster was a sorry substitute.

De insulis meridiani atqz indici maris nuper inuent.

Olumbus Regię classis pręfectus: quez hispani Hal/
myrātem vocitant: cura reguz exploratur⁹ orientis lit
tora: ex Cali Bethicę hispaniç vrbe nobili: quç extra
fauces gaditanas: qua irrūpens. Atlanticus oceanus
in maria nostra discurrit: sita est: portu celebri: militi
b⁹ delectis. vij. kalēdas octobris: āno a virgis partu. Mccccl xxxxiij.
naues cōscendit: aura vsurus secūdiore: quç benigniter flarę iam cę/
perat. Ibi nauiū maiorū minorūqz agmen expeditū. Nauigia leuissi
ma multa: barchias appellant cātabricas. Quibus ne ferri moles p/
nicitatē prępediret: ligno ⁊ sudib⁹ magna ex parte iūcta latera. Cha
rauellç itē plurimç: minores eniz hę naues: ad magnā tamē ⁊ vio/
lentaz nauigationē robustç. Cū his iunctę quç ad perlustrādas in/
dorū insulas paratç erant. Jam sacra nautarū solēnia: discedentiū
excepta oscula: naues tapedibus amictç: vexillis caudatis ītortos fu
nes insinuantibus. Signa regia puppim vndiqz colorabant. Tibi/
cines ⁊ citharedi: nereidas galatheas: sirenas ipas mellifluo modu/
lamine stupidas tenuere: clangorē tubarū stridorē lituoꝝ resonan/
tibus litoribus: bōbardarum sclopis imis vndis reboantibus. Quo
exēplo venetorū naues longç: quç mercaturç gratia: britānicū ma/
re velificantes in portum forte diuerterāt: studio non dispari: certa/
mine non dissimili: hispanoꝝ naues ęmulatç nautica celebrant: ad ī/
dos abeuntibus (pro more) bene precātes ratibus. Ubi postera di/
es illuxit: pumicantibus phaleris aurora cōmodū remicāte: fauonijs
sereniter inspirantibus: quinqz nauibus maioribus: charauellis. xij.
adhibitis: quç anno superiore indicuz senserant oceanum: canarias
versus nauigant: Has insulas superioribus annis repertas fuisse cō
stat: in mare atlanticum ituris. Quare nonis octobribus: depulsa ma
ris caligine: Lāzarota simul ⁊ Forteuentura: quā latini Bonamfor/
tunam non insulse nomināt: medio se se ostentāt oceano. Benigna
tellus: facilis ⁊ inoxia: nisi coruorum iniuria: quod genus alitum in/
sulas infestat: mercatores eminus repellerentur. Tanta est ea iactu/
ra: vt aduersus illorū populationes lex extet inuiolabilis: qua cēte/
na coruorum capita annuatim coloni singuli offerre magistratui pu
blicitus astringantur. Qui dicto non paruerint: pecunia mulctan/

Third Page of the Printed Scillacio

1493 Gold! Gold!! Ah, the gold-mines of Cibao! Two expeditions were sent inland, one led by Ojeda, the other by a young cavalier, Gorvalan. Ojeda found gold; the sands of



Map of Haiti in Columbus's Time

every mountain stream glittered with it. He picked up a nugget that weighed nine ounces, and smaller nuggets were found by his subordinates. Ojeda hastened back with his nugget and his story, and Gorvalan made a similar report. One of the chroniclers tells us that "the most splendid thing of all (which I should be ashamed to put in writing had I not received it from a trustworthy source) is that, a rock adjacent to a mountain being struck with a club, a large quantity of gold burst out, and particles of gold of indescribable brightness glittered all around the spot. Ojeda was loaded down by this outburst."

The Beginning of American Slavery

Columbus was now ready to write his despatch to the sovereigns. Fortunately, his letter has been preserved with the marginal comments of its royal readers. Oppo-

site a request that the cannibals sent by him should be taught the true religion and the Spanish tongue, is the royal declaration that "his suggestions are good." Then comes a distinct proposition for the setting up of a regular trade in Carib slaves. "Let yearly caravels conduct this trade; it will be easy to capture plenty of these savages." On this, the monarchs prudently suspend judgment. Columbus signed the letter on the thirtieth of January, 1494. Early in February, the fleet of twelve vessels, under command of Antonio Torres, sailed for Spain, where each returning sailor was greeted as a hero. Following the departure of the fleet, came factional divisions and attempted mutiny. Bernal Diaz, the controller of the colony, was imprisoned as the chief offender and sent to Spain for trial. Other leaders were punished in other ways, and all implements and munitions of war were stored on a ship under control that Columbus thought trustworthy. Life in Isabella had proved direfully disappointing to most of the adventurers, and the sometimes injudicious exercise of authority by an alien was looked upon as oppression. 1494

Exploration of Haiti, March 12

Having thus fortified his authority, Columbus led an expedition of about four hundred armed men with miners and laborers into the interior in quest of the gold-mines. The Indians that they met were terrified by the small cavalry detachment. "At first, they supposed the horse and his rider to be a kind of centaur, and when the rider dismounted this separation of one creature into two overwhelmed them with supernatural terror. Even when they had begun to get over this notion, they were in dread of being eaten by the horses." After crossing the range of mountains now known as the Sierra de Monte Christi, and the luxuriant valley that Columbus named the Vega Real, the party came to the rugged slopes of the Cibao Mountains. At the foot of one of the declivities, on a plain through which a river ran gurgling over its marble and jasper beds, Columbus built Fort Saint Thomas. It was computed that the fort was eighteen leagues from Isabella.

In the Vega Real

1494 Here Columbus got from the Indians a few nuggets and a fresh supply of golden stories. The fort was soon finished, Pedro Margarite and fifty-six men were left, and the return march was begun. The expedition arrived at Isabella on the twenty-ninth of March.

Labor and Privilege

The January plantings were already yielding harvests, but fever was at work. To avert a famine, all who were able to labor were put to work on a mill; they who would not work should have half-rations only. The obvious need was not sufficient salve for wounded pride. The cavaliers complained of the indignity of drudgery, and the priests were equally outraged. Fortune seemed to turn her face away and intrigue followed disappointment. To make matters worse, the garrison at Fort Saint Thomas had ill learned the lesson of La Navidad. The license and exactions of the Spaniards had exasperated the neighboring natives, and Margarite feared that Caonabo would be able to mass them in an attack upon him. Columbus sent a small reinforcement which was soon followed by Ojeda with a force of about three

April 9

hundred and fifty men armed with crossbows and matchlocks and sixteen mounted lancers. Ojeda was to govern at Fort Saint Thomas, while Margarite scoured the country with the force at his command. He was instructed to maintain strict discipline, to treat the natives with consideration, and to capture Caonabo.

West Indian Exploration

Columbus was aware of the dissatisfaction that the papal line of demarcation had caused at Lisbon. With a view to explorations that should forestall any Portuguese attempt in that direction, Columbus formed a junta with Don Diego in chief command and Father Buil as one of four counselors. Leaving his two larger vessels, and taking the "Nina" and two other caravels, he sailed from Isabella on the twenty-fourth of April. With him were the cartographer and the notary. On the twenty-ninth, he reached the eastern end of Cuba. Early in May, he cast anchor in a harbor on the southern coast, probably that of Guantanamo or of Santiago.

May 3

Hearing of a great island with gold-mines southward, he

stood off shore. After sailing southward two days and nights, the Spanish squadron was met by an angry armada of seventy canoes filled with painted savages. They were more warlike than the islanders found in Haiti (Espanola) and Cuba, and defiantly hurled their javelins at the ships. Columbus discharged his bombards and landed a force that put the islanders to flight, and let loose upon them a dog who pursued them with fury. This is the first instance of the use of dogs against the natives. The Indian name of the island was Jamaica but, when Columbus took formal possession, he called it Santiago. The natives soon came in crowds, bringing supplies of various kinds and helping the sailors in the work on the ships. The part of the country first seen by the Spaniards now constitutes the parish of Saint Ann. 1494

Columbus coasted to the western end of the island and, on the eighteenth of May, was again on the Cuban coast. When he entered the archipelago that he called the Queen's Gardens, he thought that he was among the islands that fringed Cathay. When the coast-line began

The Error of the Dreamer

Map of Columbus's Voyage in the West Indies

to trend to the southwest, just as Marco Polo had described, he realized that the Golden Chersonesus (the Malay Peninsula of today) was not far ahead. After passing that, he might sail by way of the Cape of Good

1494 Hope, or traverse the Red Sea to its northern end, desert his ships, join a caravan, reëmbark upon the Mediterranean, and thus return to Spain, a greater explorer than before. From such a dream he was recalled by the leaky condition of his ships and the mutinous spirit of his crew. Making up his mind to go
June 12 no further, he again failed to discover his great geographical errors. The officers and men and boys of the squadron were induced to swear before the notary that it was possible to go from Cuba by land to Spain. As Mr. Winsor says, Columbus found it easy to make Cuba a continent by affidavit, and he hoped to make it appear the identical kingdom of the great khan. This foolish proceeding has been attributed to the fact that the admiral was suffering with sleeplessness and fever, the premonitory symptoms of a long and dangerous illness.

The Return to Isabella

On the next day, sailing southeast, Columbus came to a large island that he named Evangelista, now known as the Isle of Pines (Isla de Pinos). Repassing the Queen's Gardens, he turned southward from the Bay of Santa Cruz to complete the circuit of Jamaica. Here for a month he anchored every night and was supplied by the natives with provisions. Jamaica was left behind on the nineteenth of August. On the next day, the caravels were off the long peninsula at the southwest corner of Haiti. Here Columbus put nine men ashore to work their way overland to Isabella while he pushed along the southern coast. An eclipse of the moon enabled him to take his longitude, which he did with an error of eighteen degrees. On the twenty-fourth of September, the fleet was at Mona, a small island off the eastern end of Haiti. With this near approach to his colony, and under the reaction from his five months' anxiety and hope, Columbus fell into a stupor and, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1494, was thus borne into the harbor of Isabella.

Bartholomew Columbus

In the absence of the admiral, there had been important happenings at Isabella. Bartholomew Columbus, who had been sent to England in the interest of his

brother, returned to Spain too late to join the second expedition. He was soon given command of a section of a supply fleet for Haiti, and sailed from Cadiz, about a week after the departure of the admiral from Isabella on his western cruise. His three well-laden caravels arrived at Haiti on the twenty-fourth of June. The presence of the strong and stern Bartholomew had a good effect upon the sick Columbus, who was further cheered by information that his children were well, that the sovereigns still looked with favor upon their viceroy, and that the pope had issued the bull of extension. But Diego and Bartholomew had less welcome news for their brother. The natives of the Vega Real had been irritated by the sensual diversions of Margarite and his men, and Diego had remonstrated and reminded him of the admiral's orders to explore the mountains. Margarite resented this interference and joined the rebellious faction headed by Father Buil. Seizing the ships that Bartholomew had brought, the mutineers sailed for Spain. The mild and studious Diego was glad to be rid of the leaders of the faction, but the admiral was anxious as to the effect of their representations at the Spanish court.

1494

April 30

Mutiny and Desertion

The report of the abandonment of the colony by Father Buil was not the only sad story to which Columbus had to listen. After Margarite's departure, the unchecked license of his armed force became unendurable. Caonabo attempted to surprise the little garrison at Fort Saint Thomas where Ojeda had maintained strict military discipline, but the naked natives quickly learned to dread the Spanish crossbows and harquebuses, and Caonabo was obliged to raise the siege. Then this warlike prince formed a league with the other caciques of the island for an attack upon the weakened settlement at Isabella; only Guacanagari refused to be persuaded. A barbarian host began to gather in the Vega Real. According to Las Casas, they counted up a hundred thousand men—an obvious overestimate.

The League of the Caciques

The still faithful cacique informed Columbus of the

1494 1495 plans for an attack, and the admiral did what he could by show of force and by diplomacy to break the confederacy. It was not long before Antonio Torres, who, in February, 1494, had gone to Spain in command of the fleet of twelve vessels sent back by Columbus, came back to Isabella with four ships, recruits, and supplies. He also brought a letter from Ferdinand and Isabella announcing the agreement made at Tordesilhas and asking the admiral to send to them some one who was competent to deal with the geographical problems thus opened up. This letter of the sixteenth of August contained a royal recognition of his genius and perseverance, and was accompanied by another commanding all the colonists to bow in all things to the authority of the admiral. The request for a geographer, and the necessity of meeting the representations of Father Buil and Margarite before the sovereigns, made it important that Torres's fleet should return to Spain without delay. The fleet set sail on the twenty-fourth of February, 1495, carrying Don Diego, what little gold had been accumulated, and five hundred Indians to be sold as slaves.

Marks of Royal Favor

Caribs, Christianity, and Slavery

With characteristic lack of sympathy, Mr. Winsor says: "It may be indeed asking too much of weak humanity to be good in all things, and therein rests the pitiful plea for Columbus, the originator of American slavery." Such a judgment ignores the then common mingling of religion and worldly interest. In near-by islands dwelt voracious Caribs who occasionally would swoop down upon the coasts of Haiti, and carry off men and women by the score to be cooked and eaten. It has been explained that as Columbus wished to win the friendship of the Indians about him, he made raids against these Caribs and took some of them captive. In his excess of religious zeal, he sent these captives as slaves to Spain, to be taught Spanish and converted to Christianity, so that they might go back to the islands as interpreters and thus be useful aids in missionary work! While, with Mr. Helps, we must regret that "the very ship which brought that admirable reply

from Ferdinand and Isabella to Columbus—begging him to seek some other way to Christianity than through slavery, even for wild, man-devouring Caribs—should go back full of slaves taken from among the mild islanders of Hispaniola," it is hardly fair to judge the great discoverer by standards other than those of his own time. 1495

The New Growth of Slavery

With the slow advance of civilization and under the influence of the Christian church, European slavery had been greatly modified and was in fair course of extinction when, all at once, the progress of discovery in Africa opened up a wholesale traffic in black men, and the discovery of the West Indies made Amerind slaves the material for a profitable commerce. Economic conditions in Europe in the fifteenth century were unfavorable to the thrift of slavery just as they were in New England in the nineteenth century. "But in the subtropical regions of the New World slavery grew up quickly and sturdily, as foul weeds sprout in a congenial soil." Experience soon proved that the endurance of the black African was greater than that of the cinnamon-tinted American. By a strange combination of time and circumstance, it soon came to pass that America developed into a great and growing market for the cheap labor that Africa chiefly supplied for centuries. From these elements was evolved a new system of slavery that added race antipathy to the worst features of the ancient Greek and Roman system.

The Adelantado

Columbus created his brother Bartholomew his representative with the title of adelantado, little thinking that the appointment would kindle the resentment of the king. The adelantado brought to the government an administrative ability that the admiral lacked. On the twenty-seventh of March, 1495, Columbus, with his little army of two hundred foot and twenty horsemen, and supported by a force from the vassals of the friendly cacique, marched from Isabella to attack the hostile natives at the Vega Real. The attack was made from every quarter, with the accompaniment of drum

1495 and trumpet. The Spaniards were few but clad in steel; the natives were many and naked. The dusky horde was staggered by the precipitancy of the onset. Then Ojeda charged their center with his mounted men; the harquebuses flashed fire and death, and twenty blood-hounds were unleashed. Unaccustomed alike to dogs and horses, and firearms, and Spanish impetuosity, the natives quickly gave way and filled the woods with savage shrieks and flying forms. The rout was complete; the league of the caciques was broken. The faithful Guacanagari and his followers had had no chance to fight.

Defeat of the Caciques, April 25

By a combination of intrepidity and cunning, Ojeda lured Caonabo from his village and took him into Isabella in irons. After his return to Fort Saint Thomas, he charged and routed his assailants and took prisoner their commander, the brother of the captive chief. The Indians could not stand before flashing sabers and the equine wonders. A march by Columbus through the island secured the submission of all the caciques except Behechio, the husband of the sister of Caonabo and the ruler of the southwest quarter of the island. The enslaving of the natives was now begun in earnest. Some of the prisoners were compelled to unaccustomed labor on the farms of their conquerors, and the trade in Indian slaves was forced upon the Spanish crown. Then came an extortionate scheme for gathering gold. Sifting the sands of the island streams in the search for glittering particles changed from a pastime into a murderous task, and the unwonted toil of tropical agriculture led with rapid steps to despair and death. Even the fidelity of Guacanagari was an insufficient plea for exemption for himself and his people. Like many others, they fled to the mountain fastnesses where they were hunted like game. With capture, lashes, and slavery, the warlike spirit of the natives was subdued. Las Casas tells us that a Spaniard could march through the most solitary parts of the island and receive tribute at every demand.

Barbarian Submission

Spanish Oppression

The representations made by Margarite and Father Buil, probably reinforced by the ill will of Fonseca and the disposition of Ferdinand, were beginning to make trouble for Columbus. The king resolved to send an inquisitorial agent to Haiti. The commissioner, Juan Aguado, had accompanied Columbus on his first voyage and had been commended by the admiral to the king and queen. With four caravels and accompanied by Diego Colon, Aguado sailed in August and arrived at Isabella in October. His plenitude of power appears from the royal missive: "Cavaliers, esquires, and other persons who, by our orders, are in the Indies. We send to you Juan Aguado, our groom of the chambers, who will speak to you on our part. We command you to give him faith and credit." It is not easy to determine whether or not Aguado, by virtue of his unlimited authority, went beyond the intentions of the monarchs. Columbus was in another part of the island when Aguado arrived at Isabella, and the governing adelantado did not deem it safe to interfere when the new governor promptly began to exercise his functions.

1495 A Royal Inquisition

When Columbus heard of Aguado's coming, he hastened to Isabella and accepted his subordination with courtesy and dignity. He also learned that, in violation of their contract with him, the monarchs had ordered that any native-born Spaniard might explore the western seas, discover what he could, and even settle in Haiti. Two years later, this order was revoked. There were other unwelcome orders, and the admiral could not fail to see that the favor of the crown had been seriously weakened. Even the viceroyal expedient for quieting the clamor of the court by the sale of Indian slaves was made inoperative by the queen pending a theological inquiry as to the righteousness of such sale. The discontented colonists rejoiced to find that there was a power higher than that of Columbus, and the caciques, reinspired with hope, began to complain of the exactions to which their people had been mercilessly subjected.

Columbus Superseded

April 10

Aguado soon ordered the vessels to make ready for

1496 sea. Columbus realized that his interests were seriously
1497 threatened and resolved to return to Spain. As the
Columbus Returns to Spain ships rode at anchor ready to depart, the fleet was struck by a three hours' hurricane that shattered one of the caravels and sank or wrecked all the other vessels in the harbor. The faithful "Nina" was repaired, and from the wrecks the "Santa Cruz" was built. While this work was going on, a Spanish fugitive returned to Isabella with stories of mines on the south coast of the island and supplies of gold far more abundant than any previously found. The adelantado was sent to verify the story and, on their return, he and his force reported that the riches of Cibao were poor in comparison with those of Hayna. This story of this finding of the Ophir of Solomon was worth rehearsing to the king and queen. Two hundred "discontents and vagabonds," the manacled Caonabo, and thirty confined Indians were crowded into the two ships. Columbus went in one and Aguado in the other. Leaving the adelantado in command, with Diego to succeed in case of the death of Bartholomew, the admiral and the commissioner sailed for Spain on the tenth of March, 1496. The voyage was long and tedious and Caonabo died on shipboard. On the eleventh of June, the vessels entered the harbor of Cadiz.

His Reception at Cadiz Wearing the robe and girdled with the cord of the Franciscans, a fitting expression of his humbled pride, Columbus landed. Irving tells us that the wretched men crawled forth emaciated by the diseases of the colony and the hardships of the voyage. They carried in their yellow countenances a mockery of the gold that had been the object of their search, and had nothing to relate of the New World but sickness, poverty, and disappointment. Naturally, the reception at Cadiz was in strong contrast with that which had greeted him on his return to Palos. He had failed to satisfy the expectations that his promises had raised. He had pictured India with its commerce and palaces and cities; he had found a few island wildernesses of conjectural

worth and some naked savages, but no splendor and very little gold. His fame as an explorer had been eclipsed by his misfortunes as a ruler, and he had been already robbed of his expected riches and honors. 1497 1498

His Message to the Adelantado

At Cadiz, Columbus found three caravels ready to sail with supplies for Haiti. The despatches for him that had been intrusted to the commander of the little fleet gave to the admiral a suggestion of what he might expect, and led to the immediate sending of a letter to Bartholomew. There must be a flow of treasure toward Spain. The adelantado was therefore informed that the new mines of Hayna must be explored and developed. A port of shipment must be found and a fort built in the neighborhood of the mines. A new town must be begun on the south coast of the island and on a site more healthful than that of Isabella. The caravels sailed on the seventeenth of June, 1496. On the twelfth of July, the admiral was summoned, in reassuring terms, to visit the court, then at Almazan.

Royal Favor

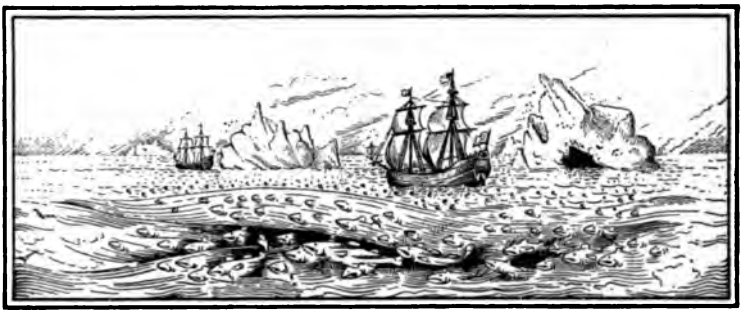
Columbus was kindly received; he exaggerated the richness of the "Ophir" mines; he asked for another fleet. The monarchs promised easily and delayed seriously. Preparations for possible war with France and for the marriages of the princess Juana and the prince Juan occupied their minds and taxed their resources. In the spring of 1497, through the influence of Isabella, the admiral's rights were reaffirmed and provision was made for his pressing pecuniary needs. Even the lately issued licenses that encroached upon his monopoly were revoked, a royal recognition of contract rights that was too good to be enduring. Early in the following year, his younger son was made a page to the queen, and his estate was entailed. In this testamentary document, Columbus prescribed the succession of his heirs, and directed that investments be made with the Bank of Saint George at Genoa, there to accumulate for the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher. Keeping step with the manifestations of the continued interest and favor of the queen, were the growing apathy of the king and

April 23

June 2

February 18

February 22



CHAPTER XI

DA GAMA AND CABOT

SPAIN was anticipated both as to the finding of an ocean route to India and the discovery of continental America. Ten days prior to the departure of Columbus on his third voyage, Da Gama reached Calicut in India by way of the African coast. When the surviving half of his fleet returned in 1499, Lisbon was radiant with joy. Columbus had crossed the western ocean and brought back to Spain the shadow; Da Gama had turned the cape and brought back to Portugal the substance.

Da Gama

May 20, 1498

Vasco da Gama

In passing, notice must be made of a much mooted claim that, in 1497, the Florentine, Americus Vespucius, whom we have met in Spain as one of the helpers in the equipment of one of the fleets of Columbus, had discovered the American mainland and coasted its shores from Honduras to Cape Hatteras. Vespucius himself says: "We departed from the port of Cadiz on the tenth of May, 1497, taking our course on the great gulf of ocean in which we employed eighteen months, discovering many lands and innumerable islands, chiefly inhabited, of which our ancestors made no mention." It is a suspicious feature of the case that there is no

Americus Vespucius

4 9 7 mention of this voyage in printed book or treasured manuscript of contemporary history. Sebastian Cabot and Las Casas had no belief in the story and, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Herrera declared that Vespucius had falsified the record. As Herrera was long accepted as the highest authority, the glory of the Florentine was dimmed. The clouded reputation was made worse by the Spanish historian Navarrete, the Portuguese Santarem, and the German Humboldt. In 1839, the Brazilian Varnhagen began his long-continued attempt to clear away the cloud. The question has sorely vexed historians; the vexation will be continued in another chapter.

The Hunt-Lenox Copper Globe
(Western Hemisphere)

The way having been opened, navigators of all maritime nations were anxious to follow therein, and sovereigns in colder climes were anxious to share with Spain her new-found glory and hoped-for gold. Humboldt speaks of "the suddenness with which a new sense, as it were, was opened for the appreciation of the grand and boundless;" and Hume assures us that Henry VII. of England missed the glory and profit of the discoveries of Columbus only by accident. Giovanni (or Zuan) Caboto was probably a native of Genoa, a city in which were born "the men who did more than the sons of any other city to open up the unknown world." In 1476, he became a citizen of Venice. Prior to 1491, he removed to Bristol, England, and was thenceforth known as John Cabot. In 1498, one of the Spanish ambassadors

to the English court wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella that, "for the last seven years, Bristol people have sent out every year two, three, or four caravels in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities according to the fancy of this Genoese." Possibly Cabot was a member of the Fellowship, Society, or Company (as it is variously called) of Merchant Venturers of Bristol. This still existing gild was fully organized as early as 1467, and traces of it are found as early as 1314. 1497

The Cabotian Tangle

In the case of Columbus, we have much documentary evidence of varying value; in that of the Cabots, accounts are meager and often contradictory. As to Columbus, we may often speak with certainty; as to the Cabots, the careful historian must hesitate to set forth in positive terms the leading details of their most important discoveries. The Cabots made two voyages, but for two hundred years no one even dreamed that there was more than one. Today it is not always possible to discriminate between the two. Fortunately, modern critical scholarship is doing much to straighten out the tangled thread. We know that John Cabot had three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctus. Lewis and Sanctus became eminent; Sebastian more eminent. Lewis settled at Genoa and Sanctus at Venice; Sebastian secured high office in Spain and sought service in other countries. Nearly all that we know of the Cabot voyages comes to us through the stories told by the second son; and, by very high authority, we are informed that Sebastian Cabot, "beyond cavil and sophistry," was "an unmitigated charlatan, a mendacious and unfilial boaster." Doctor Dawson dryly says that this son had a gift of reticence concerning others, including his father and brothers. Mr. Winship gives a far more charitable interpretation of the character of the son, more charitable than is his reference to "the professed detractor of Sebastian Cabot."

Cabot's Sons

We have the testimony of this Sebastian that, with the fame of Columbus, "there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing; and,

1497 understanding of the sphere [globe] that if I should sail by way of the northwest I should by a shorter track come into India. I imparted my ideas to the king." This declaration ignores the father, and hints at a knowledge of what we call great-circle sailing. As a matter of fact, at an unknown date the following petition was filed:

The Petition

> To the King our sovereign lord. Please it your highness of your noble mind and [illegible] grant to [illegible] John Cabot citizen of Venice, Lewis, Sebastian and Sanchu his sonnes your [illegible] letters patents under your great seale in the forme to be made according to the tenour hereafter ensuing. [illegible] their own pray to [illegible] your noble [illegible] to endure.

The expression "according to the tenour hereafter ensuing" suggests that the petition was accompanied by a draft of the letters prayed for, just as in certain pleadings lawyers submit a copy of the order or decree that they ask the judge to grant.

The Patent

On the fifth of March, 1496, the king issued the most ancient American state paper of England, a patent authorizing the Cabots to sail "to all parts, countries, and seas of the East and of the West and of the North, under our banners and ensigns, . . . upon their own proper costs and charges, to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels." By implication, this document excluded a southerly course; probably for the avoidance of any possible conflict with Spain or Portugal. The patent ignored the papal bulls of 1493, and exhibited a pecuniary prudence. The Cabots were to pay the king a fifth of all the profits. Ferdinand and Isabella, through their representative at the English court, promptly protested against any infringement of their rights in the West. Perhaps this protest was the occasion of delay.

Statue of John Cabot and his Son Sebastian

The Departure

It is generally said that John and Sebastian Cabot sailed from Bristol in May, 1497. From the contradictory

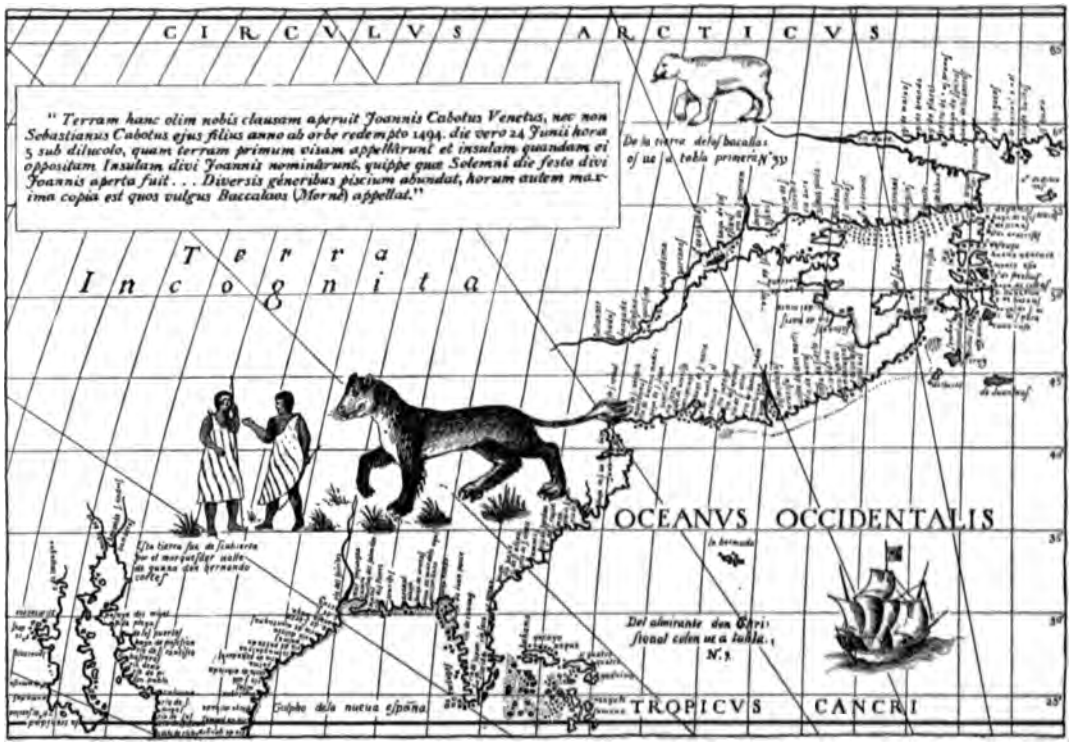
and confusing evidence, it seems probable that they sailed at that time in the ship "Matthew," a "small vessel manned by eighteen men," although Sebastian's narrative says that "with two caravels, . . . in 1496, in the beginning of July, I sailed toward the northwest." Elsewhere we hear of "four accompanying ships, all furnished at their own cost and seeking a northwest passage to India." We know nothing certain about Cabot's course, except that he sailed west from some undetermined point on the western coast of Ireland and "wandered a good deal." In spite of this, there has been no little learned discussion about "a magnetic course west," the variation of the needle, and the uniformity of the laws of nature—arguments intended to clarify the next muddled question, the locality of the landfall. 1497

The Landfall, June 24

After sailing seven hundred leagues (so says Pasqualigo, August 23, 1497) or four hundred leagues (so, only a day later, reported Soncino), they reached land, somewhere between Halifax and southern Labrador. According to the evidence furnished by witnesses "who obtained or may have obtained their information from John Cabot himself," the place where he landed was the mainland, along the coast of which he sailed three hundred leagues. No inhabitants were seen, but the sea was "covered with" codfish, "which are taken not only with the net, but also with a basket in which a stone is put so that the basket may plunge into water. . . . They say that they will bring thence such a quantity of fish that England will have no further need of Iceland."

When?

The true date of the landfall is uncertain, and possibly later than that given above. It has been often placed as early as 1494. This belief in the earlier date arises from the fact that the only Cabotian map extant indicates that Sebastian Cabot found the western continent in 1494. This now celebrated mappemonde or planisphere is said to have been made by Sebastian Cabot in 1544. Assuming that the map—which was found in 1843, and is now in the national library at Paris—is



PART OF SEBASTIAN CABOT'S MAP OF 1544

authentic and that its maker would not distort the truth, it has been suggested that Cabot, writing the date in Roman numerals, made the arms of the "V" so carelessly that "VII" was easily read "IIII." Certainly, the date 1494 is wrong. 1497

Harrisse's Map of John Cabot's First Voyage

Where?

For more than three hundred years, it was supposed that the landfall was on the coast of Labrador. The Cabotian map just mentioned put it at Cape Breton. When the map was found in 1843, there was for a time a sense of security as to that one fact, but the confidence seems to have vanished with the novelty. John Cabot noticed that the tides were slack "and do not flow as they do in England," but such is the character of the tides along the coast from Nova Scotia to Labrador. The land was good and the climate moderate, but Cabot saw them in June and July, and in Labrador "summer is brief but lovely." Codfish are plenty on the Newfoundland "banks" but even more abundant near the entrance to Hudson Strait. In brief, Cabot's description might be applied to the entire northern coast of America. Mr. Winship is disposed to leave the landfall at Cape Breton Island where it was put by the Cabot map; others have thought that the Cabots sailed up the Saint Lawrence as far as the site of Quebec and then explored the coast as far southward as the Chesapeake; while Mr. Winsor says that there is some ground for thinking that he could not have entered the Gulf of Saint Lawrence at all, and that there is nothing like

Probably Indeterminate

1497 a commonly received opinion on his track. The
1498 discussion has been pursued with a passionate bitterness that is not easy to appreciate. In spite of much positive assertion, the best opinion seems to be that "we do not know and apparently never shall know where John Cabot first sighted the New World." The certainty of the discovery and the uncertainty as to the locality parallel the corresponding features of the discovery of Leif the Lucky. But above the wreck of contest rises one unchallenged fact—that, in the summer of 1497, Cabot and English sailors found the continent of North America.

Cabot Centennial Postage-stamp

The Return

After an absence of about three months, Cabot returned to Bristol, in early August. On the tenth of that month, from the privy purse of the thrifty king, there was granted "To hym that founde the new Isle, £10." On the twenty-third, Lorenzo Pasqualigo wrote from London to his brothers at Venice: "This Venetian of ours, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned. . . . His name is Zuan Cabot, and they call him the great admiral. Vast honor is paid him, and he dresses in silk; and these English run after him like mad people." On the following day, Raimondo di Soncino sent a despatch to the duke of Milan, announcing Cabot's safe return. The Spanish envoy at London promptly reported the English discovery and gave notice to Henry VII. that the land found by Cabot belonged to Ferdinand and Isabella. In these letters we find the clearest view that history gives of John Cabot. Of his personality we know next to nothing.

August 24, 1497

The Second Patent

At this time, Cabot was in high favor with the king, who supplied him with money and granted him "an annuitie or anuel rent of twenty pounds sterling"—equivalent to a thousand dollars of today. On the third of February, 1498, while Columbus was preparing for his third voyage, he received a second patent granting

him the right to prepare another expedition. The king's privy purse account shows that bounties were given to some who went. Moreover, the recent suppression of an insurrection had filled the jails and the king gave Cabot the sweepings of the prisons. In the second patent, the younger Cabots are not mentioned, but it is generally assumed that Sebastian accompanied his father. Harrisse and Winship agree that there is no proof that Sebastian went on either voyage. Our chief source of information of this expedition are vague and tardy sayings of Sebastian confusedly reported by Peter Martyr and Ramusio; events pertaining to it are evidently mingled with those of the first voyage. 1498

John Cabot

Not earlier than Easter and probably somewhat later, the fleet of four or five vessels sailed with provisions for a year, merchandise for the heathen market, and possibly three hundred men, "jailbirds and others." Off the coast of Ireland, a storm disabled one of the vessels, which put back. On toward the northwest and into water packed with ice went the other three or four, carrying John Cabot "somewhere and to oblivion, for we never hear of him again." He quietly disappears, a historic meteor. So it was thought and said until 1897; we are not certain of it now. Whether father or son commanded the expedition has been much discussed. One of the most plausible hypotheses is that John Cabot

The Second Voyage

Sebastian Cabot

1498 died on the voyage and that Sebastian thus came into command; as survivor and chief narrator, it would be easy for him to obscure the record of his father's share in the enterprise. On the other hand, Harrisse refers to custom rolls showing that John Cabot received money between September, 1497, and September, 1498, and a similar payment in 1499, and infers thence, with natural confidence, that John Cabot returned safely. The Cabot pension was paid from the royal treasury in 1499, but Mr. Winship says that the assumption that it was drawn in person by John Cabot "is the merest conjecture."

What Became of John Cabot?

Whatever the fate of the father or the character of the son, the fleet kept on its western way toward La Tierra de los Baccalaos, or the Land of Codfish. Twenty years later, Sebastian Cabot said that the fish were so abundant that they impeded the sailing of his ships. All Europe was Catholic then, and Fridays and holidays were numerous. At those times, fish but no flesh might be eaten. Thus the fishing "banks" came to be a source of individual wealth and national wrath. As early as 1504, the Bretons and Normans were there, and, at a later day, their industry promised an empire to France. As the cod ran along the shore of the New World, the fisherman followed the shifting vein of wealth; thus did the baccalaos become History's mute pilot. Almost from Cabot's day to ours, the codfish has risen, at short intervals, to the surface of diplomatic correspondence.

Baccalaos

Probably landing at Newfoundland, and possibly leaving some of his three hundred somewhere, Cabot worked northward through seas of July ice and increasing cold, anxiously searching the shore for some open way to India. In this way he reached the northern latitude of sixty-seven and a half degrees where there was little night; at least so it is affirmed and denied. At some point on the coast, he turned his prows southward, took his colonists on board, and continued "the first coast survey of the continent." Seeking ever for a passage to India, the fleet worked its way to a certain

The First American Coast Survey

point on the Atlantic seaboard, which "point" glides tantalizingly along the coast from the Virginia capes to Florida. "But not a man would go ashore to found another colony," although landings were made here and there and a few natives captured. The exact date of the arrival at England is not known; Winsor says that it was after October, and Harrisse that it was before the end of September, 1498. The reports of the lands that had been found seem to have discouraged further enterprise in that direction for a long time. Peter Martyr wrote: "They that seek riches must not go to the frozen North." It is said that, in 1499, Pinzon found Englishmen on the coast of Venezuela. A few years later, Henry VII. granted a patent to Richard Warde and other Bristol merchants for discovery and colonization, but our knowledge of what they did is very unsatisfactory.

1498

March 19, 1501

It is possible that Sebastian Cabot made an expedition to the American coast in 1501 or 1502. It is also said and denied that, between 1508 and 1512, he commanded one or two English expeditions in search of a northwest passage, that he visited Hudson Strait and penetrated as far north as latitude sixty-seven and a half degrees. Still later, it is said that he was on the northeast coast of South America and in the West Indies with an English ship. In 1518, he was made pilot-major of Spain. In the next decade, he made a disastrous expedition to South America. He remained in the service of Spain until 1548 when he returned to England, where he was received by Edward VI. with favor and a pension. With characteristic elusiveness, he died we know not just when, and was buried we know not where.

Sebastian Cabot's Career

Cabot Memorial Tower, Bristol, England

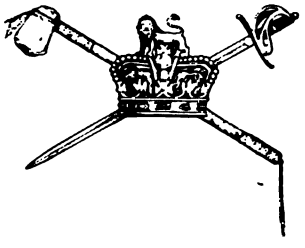
1526–30

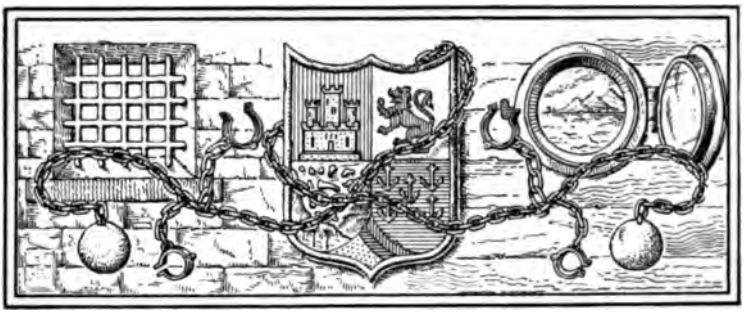
1557 or 1558

1498 John Cabot's Fame

John Cabot won for England the glory of a great discovery, but for a time it was little understood. As far as existing records show, it was eighty years before the English people made any effort to utilize the knowledge that John Cabot had given them. In a later generation, Edmund Burke declared that Cabot's discovery "is sufficiently certain to establish a right to our settlements in North America." Bancroft says that "the fame of Columbus was embalmed in the poetry of Tasso; Da Gama is the hero of the national epic of Portugal; but the elder Cabot was so little celebrated that even the reality of his voyage has been denied." While on our maps we read the names of Columbus, Americus, Magellan, Hudson, Ralegh, and a host of others, we have yet to wait for the coming of the verbal artificer of skill to mold the name of Cabot into geographical nomenclature. The four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the West Indies by Columbus was celebrated with enthusiasm in two continents; the quater-centennial of the discovery of North America by Cabot was the occasion of marked indifference in England and America.

This is the state of man; today he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope, tomorrow blossoms,
And bears his blushing honors thick upon him.
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost.



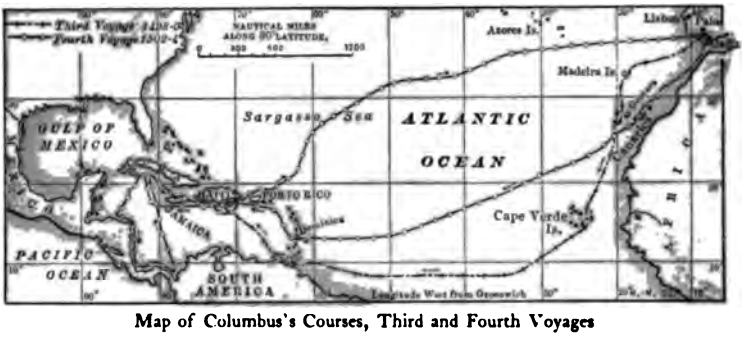


CHAPTER XII

COLUMBUS'S THIRD VOYAGE

FERDINAND and Isabella had granted six million maravedis for the expedition, and had sent Hernando Coronel in advance with two caravels, reinforcements, and supplies for the adelantado. After many delays, some of which doubtless were not necessary, Columbus and his six vessels dropped down the river from Seville and sailed from the port of San Lucar. The experiences of the last six years had impaired the physical constitution of the admiral, who was now troubled with a complication of ophthalmia, gout, and other diseases.

February, 1498



Map of Columbus's Courses, Third and Fourth Voyages

May 30

Columbus had received intimations of continental lands south of the islands that he had discovered, and had been informed that gold and jewels came in greatest abundance from near the equator where the natives were black or tawny. His present plan was to sail

The Equatorial Route

1498 southward to the equatorial region and thence westward, hoping to find that for which he and Spain were hungering and thirsting. He touched at Porto Santo and Madeira and, from Gomera, sent three of his ships direct to the new port on the southern side of Haiti.

June 21 With the other three, he set sail for the Cape Verde Islands. On the fifth of July, he steered thence toward the southwest. By the fifteenth, the vessels were in a region of calms and intense heat.

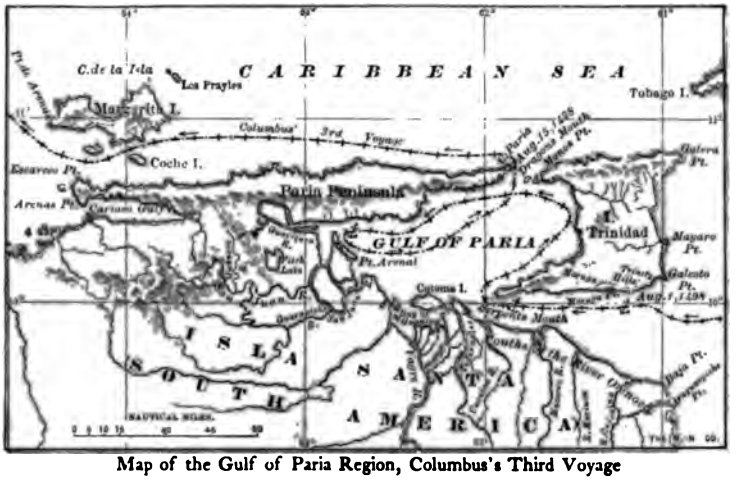
> All in a hot and copper sky,
> The bloody sun, at noon,
> Right up above the mast did stand,
> No bigger than the moon.

Tropical Troubles While the equatorial current was bearing them on their way in spite of the lack of wind, provisions became unfit to eat, the tar melted and ran from the rigging, the superheated timbers shrank, the seams of the decks began to open, and the gout tested the fortitude of the admiral. The course was changed and the ships glided into a more refreshing atmosphere. But headway was made slowly and the supply of water was nearly exhausted. On the thirty-first of July, the cry of land floated down from the masthead and was quickly followed by rising hymns of prayer and praise.

Trinidad At the beginning of the voyage, the admiral had determined to name the first-found land in commemoration of the Holy Trinity; it was a pleasing coincidence that the first view showed three separate peaks which, when approached, blended into a triple mountain. The island still retains the name that Columbus gave it—Trinidad. On the first of August, the ships were anchored on the south side of the island and in view of the low country through which are threaded the streams of the lower Orinoco. These lands, the first of the continent that he had seen, Columbus called Isla Santa. The name suggests that, at that moment and for him, Cuba was a continent and South America an island.

On the following day, the ships sailed westward and anchored near the southwest corner of Trinidad. Here

the great rush of the Guiana current, which sweeps through the narrow channel into the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico and emerges as the Gulf Stream, arrested the careful attention of the admiral and filled the 1498



Map of the Gulf of Paria Region, Columbus's Third Voyage

crews with alarm. All were ignorant of the great discharge of the Orinoco, at that season swollen with tropical rains; and when at night a great billow came across the channel with an "awful roaring" and the flag-ship lifted her anchor and one of the caravels snapped her cable, even Columbus was alarmed by the strange phenomenon and the attending danger. To try to take his ships through the narrow pass in front, with its fearful struggling of the fresh water with the sea, would be unsafe, and to stem the current and retrace his course seemed impossible. Columbus named the pass the Serpent's Mouth. Fortunately, a favoring wind enabled him to pilot his little squadron safely through it and into the quiet gulf beyond. The freshness of the waters of this land-locked gulf was a new surprise.

The Orinoco

La Boca de la Sierpe

At the northwest corner of Trinidad, a second channel, more dangerous than the first, was found and named the Dragon's Mouth. Thinking that the headland opposite was part of another island, Columbus coasted its southern shore seeking a safer passage northward.

Boca del Dragon

August 5

kindle enthusiasm. These children of a teeming fancy were destined to be placed side by side with the soberer statements of Americus Vespucius, and thus to make it 1498

Columbus at the Island of Margarita

more easy to rob the great discoverer of his right to fix his name upon a world that he had found.

After sailing northwest for four days, Columbus sighted Haiti about fifty leagues west of the new capital that, in honor of their father, Bartholomew had named Santo Domingo. The admiral sent a messenger over- Espanola August 19

1498 land, and the adelantado promptly set out in a caravel to meet the fleet. On the last day of August, the two brothers entered Santo Domingo and were welcomed by the third brother, Diego. In the absence of Columbus, the adelantado had occupied the Hayna country, built a fort and a new town, and sent Indian slaves to Spain. The theologians had reported to the queen that it was right to sell Indians who had been taken in war and, by means of that easy test, Bartholomew had been able to keep up the supply. Isabella was soon abandoned; time has made picturesque its ruins. The province of Xaragua and its cacique, Behechio, had been brought into subjection, tribute agreed upon, and the friendship of the susceptible and influential Anacaona, the sister of Behechio and the widow of the fallen Caonabo, had been secured. These were the only cheerful incidents of the story to which Columbus listened.

Spanish Outrage and Native Revolt

Expatriated convicts turned loose among the natives had made free with property and wives and turned the colony into a hell. The Spaniards captured the Indians who had desecrated a Christian chapel and "gave them the fire and fagots as they would have done to Moor or Jew." Roused to fury by the outrage of his wife, Guarionex, the ruler of the region of the Vega Real, entered into league with neighboring caciques and threatened Fort Conception. But the vigorous adelantado arrived with reinforcements and adroitly captured all the leaders of the native conspiracy. Two of these leaders were executed; the others were pardoned—a politic determination that secured for at least one Spaniard some credit for clemency. But in spite of his vigor, the adelantado could not force decent living upon settlers who had been swept from prison into Haiti, and Guarionex was again driven into insurrection. The cacique was driven to the northeast coast. The outcome of the mountain campaign that Bartholomew conducted was the capture of the insurgent chiefs and the dispersion of their followers.

1498

An Insurgent Chief Justice

More serious than the Indian rising was the first American rebellion. This was a revolt led by Roldan, a man whom Columbus had lifted out of a servile condition and made chief justice of the colony. Aided by reports of the unpopularity of Columbus in Spain and a growing antipathy to the rule of an Italian in Haiti, Roldan fostered discontent and mutiny and soon had in hand a band of worthless ruffians. Checked more than once by the skill and vigor of the adelantado, the outlawed mutineers refused all intercourse with Coronel, the ambassador of the adelantado. Adding his influence to that of the outrages in the Vega Real, Roldan encouraged the final Indian insurrection that resulted in the capture of Guarionex and the mountain cacique as just narrated. Both of these caciques were in bonds as hostages for peace when Columbus arrived at Santo Domingo.

The Rebels Force Concessions

Soon after the arrival of the admiral at the new capital, the three caravels that he had sent from Gomera direct to the colony also arrived. They had been carried by the currents too far westward and had landed on the coast of Xaragua. When Roldan represented that he had been stationed in that region to collect tribute from the natives and was in need, he was supplied with stores, arms, and munitions from the caravels. Some of the newcomers were won over and joined the mutineers before the captains understood the situation. After the arrival of the caravels at Santo Domingo, Columbus opened negotiations with the rebels. On the eighteenth of October, the waiting ships sailed for Spain, and on the twentieth, Columbus sent a letter by Carvajal to Roldan. Roldan insisted upon terms that were hard to grant, but the mutineers were gaining strength, the garrisons were disaffected, desertions to the enemy were frequent, and the colonists could not be trusted if an appeal was made to arms. As Roldan grew stronger he became more defiant. Recognizing the hopelessness of his situation, Columbus accepted terms dictated by the rebel, and part of the victorious faction returned to

1499 Santo Domingo where the agreement was completed on
1500 the fifth of November, 1499.

The Repartimiento

Past offenses were condoned, Roldan was restored to his high office, and he and his followers were given grants of lands. Columbus also made a new agreement with the caciques, relieving them of the tribute previously paid, in lieu of which they were to furnish the reinstated mutineers with laborers for their farms. This was the beginning of the system of repartimientos, by which every colonist, even the vilest, was given absolute power over as many Indians as his means and rank demanded. The system brought unutterable misery upon the natives, and blacked the memory of its author. In his letters to the monarchs, Columbus explained the compulsion upon which he had made terms with the rebels and asked that they be brought to trial. There were minor difficulties to be overcome but, by August, 1500, the viceroy felt that peace had been restored. The cloud that had long been gathering was now about to break.

Cabral and Brazil

Da Gama's opening of the African route to India naturally prompted another Portuguese expedition and, in March, 1500, Cabral sailed with three ships for Calicut. He took a course further westward than that of Da Gama and, on or about the twenty-second of April, "stumbled upon Brazil and preëmpted the share of Portugal in the New World." Cabral sent back a caravel with the news, and continued his journey to India. Wholly independent of the efforts and ideas of Columbus, he had found America. Before the end of July, King Emanuel notified Ferdinand and Isabella of Cabral's discovery. Probably, the prospect of complications on the western side of the line of demarcation made more evident the importance of promptly putting the affairs of Haiti in better condition, and reinforced

The Shadow of Coming Trouble

the desire of Ferdinand to curtail and, if possible, to withdraw the concessions granted to Columbus. There had been mismanagement, nepotism, arrogance, and cupidity, and it is not much cause for wonder that Isabella yielded to the persuasion of Ferdinand and the

plausible representations of Fonseca. Columbus himself wrote to Isabella that he knew that "water dropping on a stone will at last make a hole." Then the continued shipments of slaves from Haiti argued an obstinate disregard of her wishes. His recent request for a continuance of the traffic added damage to his injured cause. Finally he asked that some one be sent to investigate the differences between himself and Roldan and the Spanish monarchs appointed a commissioner with plenary powers that outran the desires of the viceroy. 1500

A Royal Commissioner

The commissioner that the monarchs thus clothed with dangerous authority was Francisco de Bobadilla. Oviedo speaks of him as honest and religious, and it is certain that he enjoyed the confidence of the monarchs. It is difficult, however, to avoid the conclusion that Bobadilla was as unscrupulous as he had seemed to be honorable, one of those in whom character gives the lie to reputation. The arrangements were made with unusual deliberation. The original instructions directed the commissioner to investigate the Roldan insurrection, to arrest the culpable persons, and to sequestrate their property. Subsequently, a circular letter was prepared notifying interested parties of the full jurisdiction given to Bobadilla in civil and criminal matters. With it went an order for the admiral to surrender all forts, arms, and other royal property into his hands. Five days later, the following remarkable letter from the sovereigns was addressed to Columbus:

March 21, 1499

May 21, 1499

> We have directed Francisco de Bobadilla, the bearer of this, to tell you for us of certain things to be mentioned by him. We ask you to give faith and credence to what he says, and to obey him.

May 26, 1499

Bobadilla was also given papers signed in blank, so that he might issue over the royal signatures any order that he thought desirable. As implied in the order above quoted, confidential instructions were doubtless given to him verbally. With him went twenty-five picked soldiers as a guard of honor, several Franciscan friars, and nineteen of the natives who had been sold as slaves in Spain. They set sail in June or July, 1500.

1500 Bobadilla in Haiti

When Bobadilla's caravels appeared off the harbor of Santo Domingo, Columbus was in the Vega Real and Bartholomew was in Xaragua. Seven of the malefactors had been hanged and five more were in prison. Don Diego sent a canoe to the ships as they lay at anchor waiting for the tide to take them up the river. His messenger informed Bobadilla of the recent and the coming executions. When the ships entered the river, "the gibbets on either bank, with their dangling Spaniards, showed the commissioner that there were other troublous times to inquire into than those named in his warrant." Upon landing, Bobadilla, accompanied by his body-guard, went to the church where, after mass, a herald read the commission of the twenty-first of March, 1499.

August 24

Takes Forcible Possession

Diego, as acting governor, declined to surrender the prisoners without an order from the admiral. On the following day, Bobadilla's other commissions were publicly read. In spite of the conclusive evidence of a superior power, Diego still refused to recognize it in the absence of his brother. With a peremptoriness that seems to have been unnecessary, Bobadilla marched to the citadel with his armed men, his crew, and the rabble. The feeble fortress was carried by assault and the prisoners were passed over to their new keepers. Bobadilla at once occupied the house of Columbus, seized the public and private papers and all other things therein, and increased his popularity by using the money that he found to pay the admiral's debts, and by reducing the royal dues from the produce of the mines. Diego was put in irons and confined on one of the caravels.

Columbus in Prison

When Columbus received the letter of the monarchs, he started for Santo Domingo. He was promptly seized and imprisoned in the fort. Bartholomew was also put in irons and confined on one of the caravels as Diego had been. By Bobadilla's orders, the three imprisoned brothers were kept apart and denied intercourse with any one. Columbus later said that he was refused any statement of the charges against him,

adequate clothing, and decent treatment. The inquest was at once begun, a remarkable ex-parte process. There was no organized opposition; Bobadilla's precipitancy and secrecy were not necessary and cannot be justified except upon the assumption that he was acting upon secret orders. For such an assumption, we have no adequate foundation. The whole proceeding was as dull as it was brutal. 1500

There is no doubt that public sentiment in the colony was strongly adverse to Columbus, who heard, even in

Columbus in Chains

Columbus in Chains

his dungeon, the taunts and imprecations of Spanish malefactors that he had uncaged. Criminals are not always grateful for favors done them. When Villejo, the commander of the caravels, went to the prison with some men-at-arms to take the admiral in custody, Columbus thought that he was about to be murdered, and found it difficult to believe that he and his brothers were to be sent back to Spain. Early in October, the

1500 viceroy sailed out of hearing of the hootings that followed him. When Villejo offered to remove the manacles during the voyage, Columbus answered: "Their majesties commanded me to submit to whatever Bobadilla should order in their name. He has put these chains upon me by their authority; until they order them taken off, I will wear them." The haughtiness of the reply may have been born in part of a desire to magnify martyrdom, and of a worldly wisdom that foresaw the heightening of popular indignation by the intensity of the essentially dramatic picture of chains clanking on a form that had worn the robes of royalty.

Indignation in Spain

Before the end of the month, Villejo landed his prisoners at Cadiz. While at sea, Columbus had written a touching letter to a lady of the court usually designated as the nurse of Prince Juan. This lady was a favorite of the queen; it is probable that Columbus intended that the letter should be shown to Isabella. Columbus sent his letter to the court, then in the Alhambra, in advance of the report sent by Bobadilla. When Spain heard that Columbus had come back in chains, a chivalrous people seemed to feel that the outrage of an individual was the dishonor of a nation. It was fortunate for Bobadilla that an ocean intervened. "None partook of the general indignation more strongly than Ferdinand and Isabella," says Mr. Prescott. "As the observer goes on in the story and notes the sequel, he is more inclined to believe that the sovereigns, borne on the rising tide of indignant sympathy, defended themselves at the expense of their commissioner," remarks Mr. Winsor. At all events, they ordered the immediate release of Columbus and sent a cordial summons to the court, two thousand ducats for expenses, and a handsome retinue for the journey.

Royal Interference

Columbus at Court, December 17

After a short stay at Seville, Columbus appeared before the monarchs at Granada and cast himself at the feet of the queen. She "could not repress her tears at the sight of the man whose illustrious services had met with such ungenerous requital, as it were, at her own

hands." There were royal promises as well as tears, and the hollow hope of a coming triumph as the reinstated viceroy of the Indies. For eighteen months, the spirit of the admiral was the shuttlecock of high-born insincerity. Ferdinand was fertile in excuses and Columbus had to acquiesce. 1502

Ovando Succeeds Bobadilla

In the interval, affairs at Haiti went from bad to worse, and the removal of Bobadilla was seen to be a necessity. His successor, chosen in 1501, was Nicholas de Ovando, another man of high reputation for justice and moderation. His authority, as governor of the Spanish domain in the New World, was much like that previously given to Bobadilla. The death-rate among the native workers of the gold-mines foreshadowed the extermination of a race. Ovando was to make new efforts to convert the Indians, and negro slaves were to be introduced. "It was going to take the degradation of two races instead of one. That was all!" The admiral was to send an agent to look after his interests, and Ovando was to make restitution of the property of which Bobadilla had despoiled him. Columbus appointed as his factor Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal.

Ovando's Fleet

Ovando's fleet sailed from San Lucar on the thirteenth of February, 1502, the largest that had yet left Spain for the New World. It consisted of thirty-two vessels under command of Antonio de Torres, the admiral's true and loyal friend. On board the ships were twenty-five hundred persons, including many cavaliers and men of rank. Among these was Las Casas, then a friar; he became a bishop and left, in his *Historia de las Indias*, such an exposure of Spanish cruelty that a license to print it could not be obtained until 1875. "Instead of vile convicts, there were respectable married men with their families—the guaranty of honorable living." One of the ships foundered in a gale and much cargo was thrown overboard from the others. Without other loss, the fleet arrived at Santo Domingo on the fifteenth of the following April. Bobadilla and Roldan were to be sent to Spain by the returning ships.

1502 For a while, Columbus devoted himself to pious visions and the composition of an erratic epistle to the monarchs relating to a crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land. Of course, Columbus was to be the leader in the enterprise as God's chosen instrument. But his thoughts drifted back to the Caribbean Sea and its currents. In his ignorance of the Gulf Stream and his belief that Cuba was a continental limit to the waters south of it, it seemed clear that the observed flow must find an open western way that would shorten the route that led from Europe to the opulent East. When he proposed a search for the gateway, Ferdinand could not deny the merit of the project. Moreover, to send him again to sea would remove from court an annoying claimant. The king, therefore, authorized the admiral to prepare a fleet of four vessels and to provision it for two years, but forbade him to touch at Haiti on his outward voyage.

Columbus's *Libros de las Profecias*

Columbus's Care for his Titles and his Native City

In the fall of 1501, Columbus was mingling preparation for a fourth voyage with labors on his treatise on the prophecies and his project for the recovery of the Holy Land. Having been warned that all concessions made by the Spanish crown to foreigners were void, and for the sake of securing to his descendants certain evidence of the grants and hereditary privileges that had been accorded to him by Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus, on the fifth of January, 1502, prepared and attested before a notary a series of documents now known as the Columbus codex. Three copies of this codex were written on parchment and one on paper. The paper copy was carried that year to Haiti by Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal. Of the parchment copies, one is in the palace of the municipality of Genoa. Another is in the government archives at Paris, carried thither from Italy by the great Napoleon in 1811. The other copy was deposited with the archives of the Columbus family in the monastery of Las Cuevas, near Seville, whence it mysteriously disappeared. In April, 1502, Columbus notified the managers of the Bank of Saint George at

Genoa, his native city, that he had directed his son Diego to deposit in that bank, "every year, forever, one-tenth of the entire revenue, such as it may be, for the purpose of reducing the tax upon corn, wine, and other provisions." 1502

Royal Infringements

As above suggested, King Ferdinand had become anxious to annul some of the concessions granted to his viceroy, and Fonseca seems to have been glad to strengthen and support the royal purpose. Prior to the return of Columbus, Ojeda, whom Mr. Winsor calls "the real hero of Columbus's second voyage," easily secured a license for a private voyage. He was to share his profits with the crown, and to avoid the possessions of the Portuguese and the lands that Columbus had found before 1495. This date left him free to visit the Paria region whence Columbus had sent pearls to Spain.

Ojeda's Voyage

Ojeda's expedition of four vessels sailed from Cadiz on the twentieth of May, 1499. With him went Juan de la Cosa, the cartographer of the long Cuban cruise, Americus Vespucius, and several who had been with Columbus through the wonderful gulf. The fleet made land east of the Orinoco, probably on the coast of Dutch Guiana. Guided by Columbus's charts, Ojeda followed the admiral's course through the Gulf of Paria, coasted westward, and entered a gulf which, on account of dwellings built by the natives upon piles and that reminded him of Venice, he named Venezuela. On the fifth of September, he appeared on the coast of Haiti in spite of the prohibition of his license. His presence was reported at Santo Domingo, and Columbus, who then was in authority, sent the pardoned chief justice with two caravels in pursuit. Roldan justified the confidence of the admiral. The strategic game that followed was well played on both sides. Ojeda went to another island, filled his caravels with Indian slaves, and, in June, 1500, entered the port of Cadiz.

Nino's Voyage

Among the many who were eager for a share of the rich store of pearls was Pedro Alonso Nino, who had been pilot of the "Nina" on the memorable first

1502 voyage, and had sailed through the Gulf of Paria with Columbus on his third voyage. It was as easy for him to get a license from Fonseca as it had been for Ojeda, and with a small caravel he sailed from Palos early in June, 1499. This second interloper followed close on the heels of the first. He was a better seaman than Ojeda and arrived at the Gulf of Paria about a fortnight later. The barter for pearls and gold proved successful and, in April, 1500, Nino returned to Spain with a cargo that aroused envy and kindled emulation. Their little vessel of fifty tons was "so laden with pearls that they were in maner with every mariner as common as chaffe."

Pinzon's Voyage

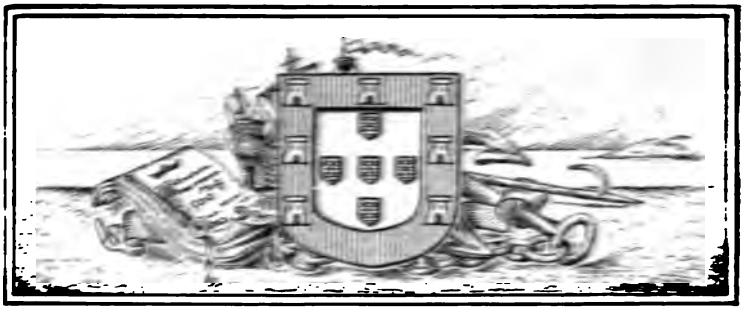
Similarly, Vicente Yanez Pinzon, the skipper of the "Nina" on Columbus's first voyage, equipped four caravels and sailed in December, 1499. He crossed the equator west of the line of demarcation, and earlier than Cabral sighted land about the twentieth of the following January, probably at the most easterly cape of the South American continent. Sailing north, he crossed the mouth of the Amazon and filled his casks with fresh water out of sight of land. He followed the turbulent and now familiar passage into the Caribbean Sea, touched at Haiti, lost two of his caravels in a gale, and with the other two returned to Palos in September, 1500, with a cargo of dyewood and many botanical and zoölogical novelties.

June, 1500

Other Private Voyages

About a month after Pinzon sailed from Palos, Diego de Lepe followed with two vessels. He skirted the coast of Brazil southwesterly and made a chart of his discoveries. In October, 1500, Roderigo Bastidas sailed from Cadiz with two vessels, taking with him as his pilot Juan de la Cosa, and as one of his crew Vasco Nunez de Balboa, one of the immortals of history. Bastidas reached the South American mainland somewhere near the Gulf of Venezuela. Sailing westward, he passed the mouth of the Magdalena and the Gulf of Darien, and explored the coast as far as the port of Nombre de Dios (Puerto Bello). His ships were injured by the borings of the teredo, and with difficulty were

gotten to Jamaica where they were repaired. He reached the coast of Haiti, where in a series of storms his ships were lost. A good deal of gold and many pearls were saved, with which treasure the men made their way to Santo Domingo. Bastidas was persecuted by Bobadilla, but after his return to Spain in September, 1502, he was fully acquitted. Stories of gold and pearls continued to incite a commensurate enterprise, and furtive explorations became common. The men whom Columbus had trained had already traced the continental coast from south of the equator to beyond the Gulf of Darien. 1502



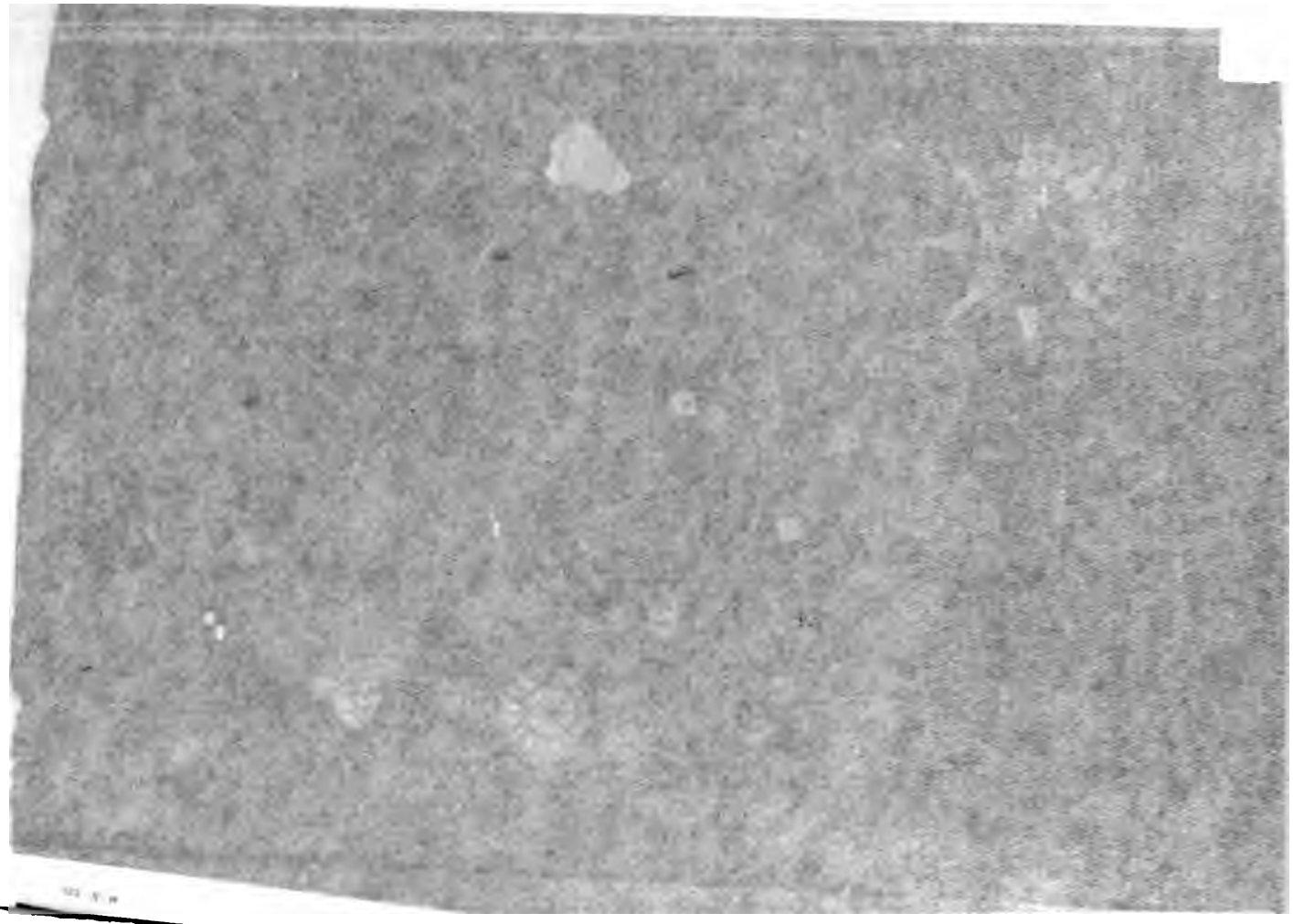
CHAPTER XIII

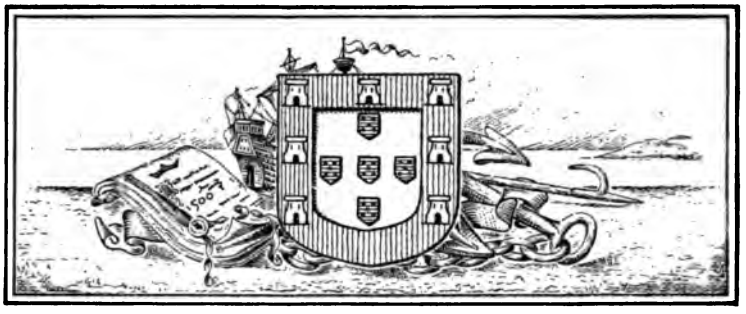
VOYAGES OF THE CORTEREALS

Portuguese Discovery

IT was a general belief of the time that the northern parts of Asia extended far toward the east. From the reports of the Cabot voyages, it seemed certain that lands were to be found on the Portuguese side of the line of demarcation; that there was, at least, a chance to equal the success of Da Gama. It was natural, therefore, that the prows of the Portuguese caravels should be turned toward the northwest. On the twelfth of May, 1500, King Emanuel granted letters patent to Gaspar Cortereal, then a man about fifty years old. This document indicates that Cortereal had previously made efforts, "with vessels and men, spending his fortune and at the peril of his life, to discover islands and a continent," but we know nothing more of such undertakings. The expedition now authorized, consisting of two vessels, sailed from Lisbon or from Terceira, one of the Azores, early in the summer of 1500. We have only lean accounts of the voyage. At some point, the ice prevented Cortereal from going further northward. It is probable that he struck the eastern shore of Newfoundland at about the fiftieth parallel, and thence coasted to the southeastern corner of the island. The climate was very cold and the land was covered with large trees. It is probable that the ships returned to Portugal in the latter part of the same year. Cortereal named the land that he had found Labrador, or Slaveland. Gold (and, in default

Gaspar Cortereal's First Voyage





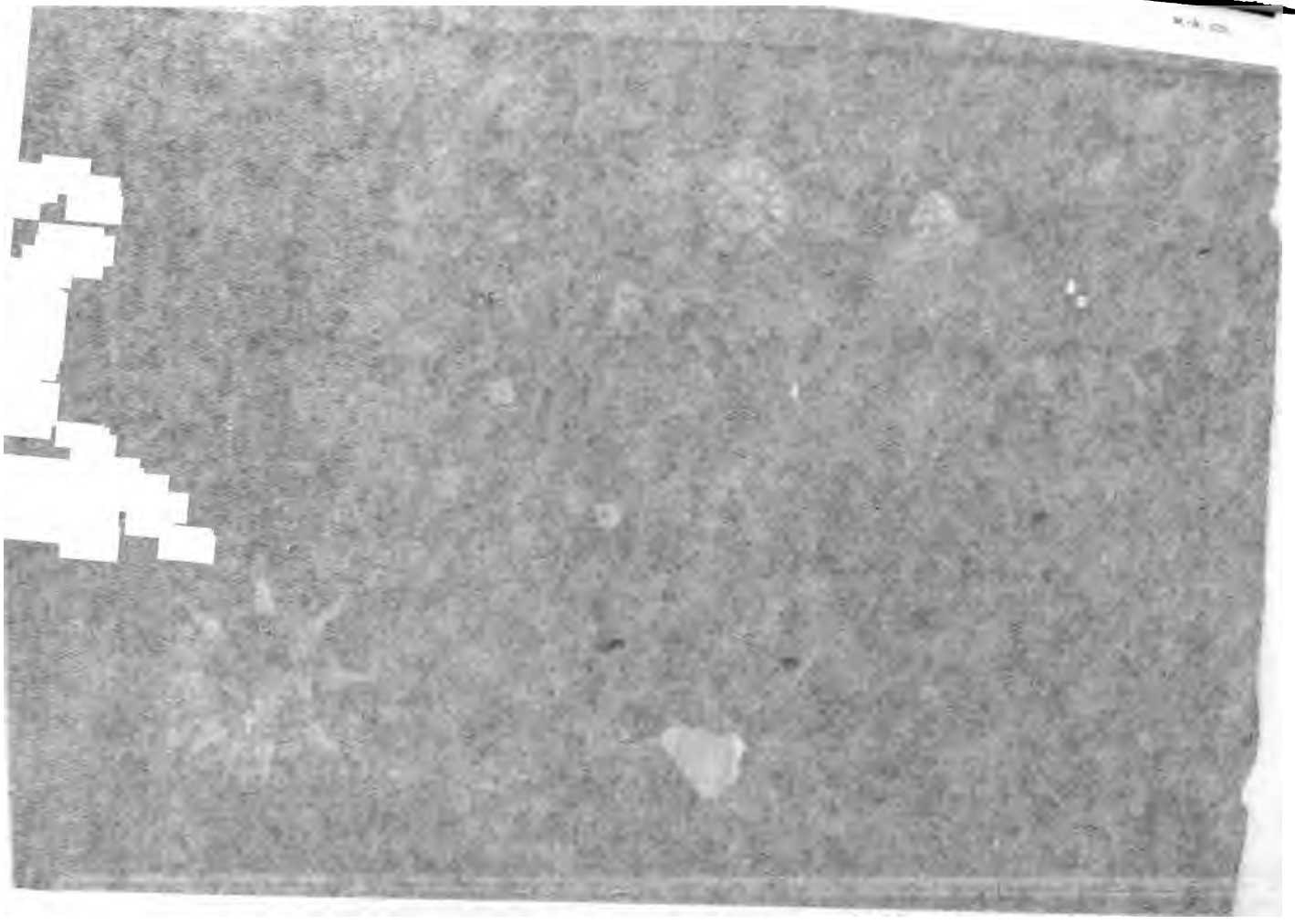
CHAPTER XIII

VOYAGES OF THE CORTEREALS

Portuguese Discovery

IT was a general belief of the time that the northern parts of Asia extended far toward the east. From the reports of the Cabot voyages, it seemed certain that lands were to be found on the Portuguese side of the line of demarcation; that there was, at least, a chance to equal the success of Da Gama. It was natural, therefore, that the prows of the Portuguese caravels should be turned toward the northwest. On the twelfth of May, 1500, King Emanuel granted letters patent to Gaspar Cortereal, then a man about fifty years old. This document indicates that Cortereal had previously made efforts, "with vessels and men, spending his fortune and at the peril of his life, to discover islands and a continent," but we know nothing more of such undertakings. The expedition now authorized, consisting of two vessels, sailed from Lisbon or from Terceira, one of the Azores, early in the summer of 1500. We have only lean accounts of the voyage. At some point, the ice prevented Cortereal from going further northward. It is probable that he struck the eastern shore of Newfoundland at about the fiftieth parallel, and thence coasted to the southeastern corner of the island. The climate was very cold and the land was covered with large trees. It is probable that the ships returned to Portugal in the latter part of the same year. Cortereal named the land that he had found Labrador, or Slaveland. Gold (and, in default

Gaspar Cortereal's First Voyage



of that, slaves) was the main object of the explorer of the fifteenth century. 1501

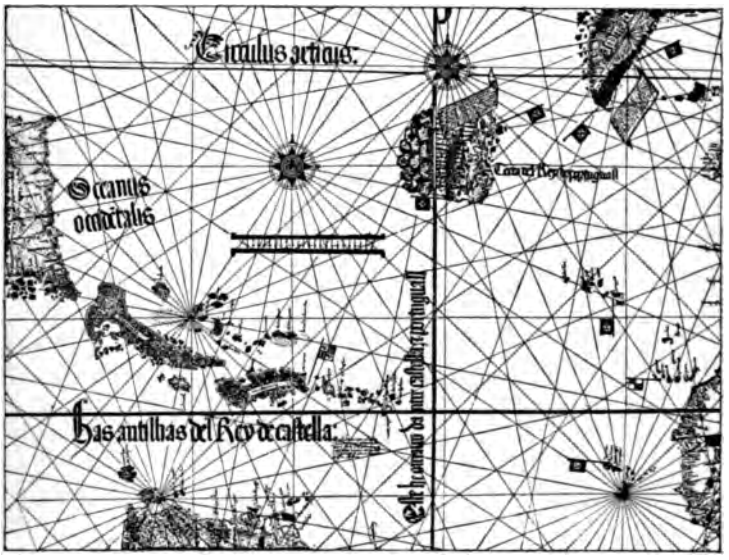
His Second Voyage

On the fifteenth of May, 1501, Cortereal again sailed from Lisbon with three ships. The only valuable sources of information concerning this voyage are three letters written by Pasqualigo and Cantino—two witnesses of the return of the caravels—and a map made in 1502, at Lisbon, for Cantino. Cantino sent the map and his description of the second voyage to the duke of Ferrara. The map is still preserved. Critics think that it was intended to illustrate the discoveries made by Cortereal in 1501. We cannot determine with certainty either the landfall or the country visited, but it is probable that Cortereal took a more northerly course than before, sighted Cape Farewell, turned from Greenland toward the southwest, and landed on the east coast of Newfoundland. From that point he ranged the coast northwardly we know not how far. From some unknown point he sent two of his caravels back to Portugal, while with the third he continued his northwest exploration. According to Pasqualigo, one of the caravels returned to Lisbon on the eighth or ninth of October, with seven of the New World natives. According to Cantino, the second caravel returned on the eleventh of October, with fifty slaves. The third caravel and Gaspar Cortereal were never again heard of. It is probable that he explored the coast of Labrador, rounded Cape Chudleigh, and met his fate in Hudson Strait or in Hudson Bay.

The Cantino Map

The Cantino map projected Newfoundland eastward into mid-ocean and beyond the line of demarcation—an error evidently in the Portuguese interest. The island is marked "Terra del Rey de portuguall." Whether its location on the wrong side of the treaty line was due to falsification prompted by interest and patriotism or to crude methods of taking longitude is not certain. Here the West Indies first appear as the Antilles. The map has further interest because it clearly shows the insularity of Cuba and lays down part

1501 of the Atlantic coast of the United States. In brief, the map is our best record of the growth of geographical knowledge in the ten years that followed the first voyage of Columbus—unless much of the map was mere conjecture. It has been generally held that Cuba was not known to be an island until it was circum-



Part of the Cantino Map of 1502

navigated by Ocampo in 1508, and that the continental region northwest of Cuba was not known until Ponce de Leon went to Florida several years later. Whence came the information gained concerning Cuba and the near-by continental coast?

Unofficial Discovery

In addition to the official expeditions that sailed under the flag of Spain, England, or Portugal, there were other voyages to the New World, some of which were authorized and some of which were clandestine. Thus we know that a number of sea-captains took advantage of the Spanish decree of the tenth of April, 1495; but who they were, whither they went, and what they found, no one can tell. As they were forbidden to go to parts already discovered, it is probable that some of

them came home with geographical data that they failed to report to the pilots and cosmographers of the Spanish crown. Other captains were even less scrupulous, and in numerous unlicensed expeditions sailed to the New World for gold, pearls, Indian slaves, dyewood, and maritime discovery. Spain protested to Portugal against such illegal ventures, and Humboldt says that there were current at Seville and Lisbon notions spread by clandestine navigators. There is little danger in assuming that the insularity of Cuba and the existence of adjacent continental lands were known at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and that the representations of the Cantino map were not founded merely on conjecture. There is as little reason for assuming that this coast-line, at such a distance from Newfoundland, was intended to show a discovery of Cortereal. 1501 1502

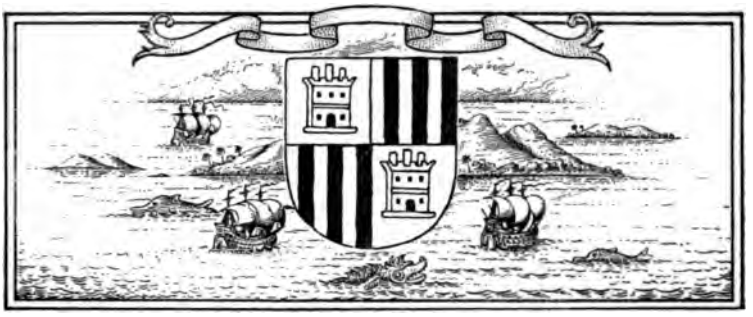
Miguel Cortereal

In hope of rescuing his brother and with a desire of discovery, Miguel Cortereal fitted out two, some say three, ships and sailed from Lisbon on the tenth of May, 1502. One of the two chroniclers from whom we learn what little we know concerning this voyage says that, when they came unto that coast (Newfoundland), they found so many entrances that "every ship went into her several river, with this rule and order that they all three should meet again on the twentieth day of August. The other two ships did so; and they, seeing that Michael Cortereal was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certain time, returned back into the realm of Portugal, and never heard any more news of him." It is said that, in a moment of royal pity, the Portuguese king sent two vessels from Lisbon in 1503 to ascertain the fate of the Cortereal brothers, but that the quest was in vain. Then the eldest of the three brothers asked permission of the king to renew the search, but Emanuel refused to risk the lives of any more of his subjects. Thus the fate of Gaspar and Miguel Cortereal remains a mystery. In consequence of the debts incurred in their voyages, the king issued letters patent to the surviving brother, continuing in him, as governor

September 17, 1506

1502 of Terra Nova des Cortereals, the privileges previously granted to Gaspar and Miguel. After the death of this Vasqueanes Cortereal, a like commission was granted to his son. The governorship must have been a position of mere nominal authority and shadowy emoluments, but the Cortereal family long clung to it with a hope of making it serve both their honor and their profit. The Cortereal voyages gave a great impulse to the fishing industry. In 1506, King Emanuel ordered that the fishermen returning from Newfoundland should pay a tenth part of their profits at his custom-houses. It is even claimed that the first attempts of European colonization in the northern parts of the American continent were made in Cape Breton Island. But the influence of Portugal in that quarter "passed away as an exhalation of the night," and her people disappeared, leaving behind a few geographical names as the only memorial of their occupancy.

March 6, 1538



CHAPTER XIV

COLUMBUS'S FOURTH VOYAGE

COLUMBUS sailed from Cadiz on the ninth or the eleventh of May, 1502, with the avowed purpose of circumnavigating the globe. He had four small caravels, each of from fifty to seventy tons. With him went not more than a hundred and fifty men, among whom were his brother Bartholomew, his son Ferdinand, and Diego de Porras, to whom, as the representative of the sovereigns, the admiral was at once to deliver all gold and other precious commodities that might be found. Apparently the king was not satisfied with the explanations that Columbus had made concerning certain pearls that the admiral had secured on his third voyage. The instructions forbade Columbus to take any slaves. The Canaries were left on the twenty-sixth of May. By the fifteenth of June, the ships were at an island called Martinino—a quick and pleasant voyage. Thence the little squadron and the great commander sailed for Santo Domingo, although the royal order was to avoid Haiti on the outward voyage. The order seems to have been given for the purpose of allowing Ovando time to bring order out of the confusion into which Bobadilla's misgovernment had thrown that island. Under pretense of a disabled caravel and an impending storm, Columbus disregarded the royal injunction and with his fleet arrived off the port on the twenty-ninth of June. The Fleet

Ovando had assumed the government at Haiti in April. When Columbus arrived off the harbor, the

1502 great fleet was ready for the return voyage. On the ships were Bobadilla, Roldan, and the unfortunate cacique, Guarionex. As for the rest of the lading, it was the richest that had ever been sent from the island—the gold wrung from the Indians, the largest nugget of the precious metal that had ever been found, and four thousand pieces sent to Columbus by his factor Carvajal,

In Haiti the admiral's share of the profits of the crown. When Columbus sent a messenger to ask permission to shelter his ships and to negotiate for another caravel as one of his could no longer carry sail, Ovando denied the requests, and sent what Irving calls an "ungracious refusal," and what Markham labels a "brutal answer." Columbus gave notice of an approaching hurricane and a friendly warning not to venture out to sea. With his four caravels he then sought and found safe anchorage in a sheltered cove. Undismayed, the great fleet spread

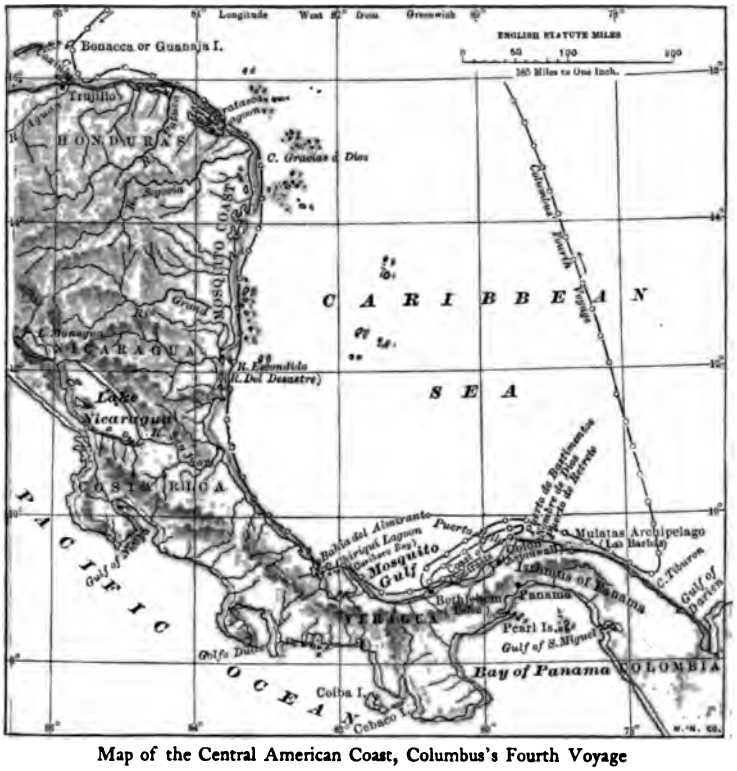
July 1 sail for the homeward voyage and was soon overtaken by the storm. Twenty ships went down; Bobadilla, Roldan, Guarionex, and the ill-gotten treasure including the famous nugget, went with them. A few shattered caravels worked back to Santo Domingo. The only one that went safely on its way was the one that had on board the treasure of the admiral. "Poetical justice," says one writer; "the finger of God," says another. The admiral's four caravels rode the storm without loss of a man and with but little damage to sails and rigging. "The faithful servant of his Lord was preserved in safety with all his people, and even his treasure."

July 14 After repairing his ships, Columbus lifted his anchors. There was little wind, but the currents swept him west-

July 24 ward into the archipelago that he had named the Queen's Gardens. On the twenty-seventh of July, he caught a favoring breeze and stood away to the southwest hoping to strike the coast of Cochin China. On the thirtieth, he was off the coast of Honduras, at Guanaja, a small island that he named Isla de Pinos. This course was in clear disregard of the theory that had prompted the voyage. Upon the Honduras coast the Spaniards found

evidences of a culture higher than any previously discovered, with stories of gold and evidences of semi-civilization in the country westward, the wondrous world of Yucatan and Mexico. But Columbus was now under the direct guidance of heaven, led by what Mr. Winsor calls beatific visions of a delusive strait. He therefore coasted eastward for full forty days, 1502

The Quest of the Dreamer



Map of the Central American Coast, Columbus's Fourth Voyage

struggling against wind and tide, tearing his sails, and wearing out his men. The admiral was suffering with the gout and the men were in despair when, about the twelfth of September, they rounded a cape beyond which the coast stretched away to the south, washed by a part of the divided current that had so long opposed them. In his joy at the relief thus brought,

1502 Columbus named the prominence Cape Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God.

Disaster, Sorcery, and Gold

Sailing southward for more than sixty leagues along what we call the Mosquito Coast, they came to a river on the bar off the mouth of which one of the boats and its crew were lost; hence the name given, Rio del Desastre. On the twenty-fifth of September, they came to a roadstead where they lay at anchor for a few days making repairs and overhauling damaged stores. On shore there was a manifested coyness; when a notary appeared with paper and inkhorn, the wondering natives fled only to return scattering smoke as if to disperse baleful spirits. Columbus, whose reason had lost its old-time equipoise, was certain that he had drifted into a realm of mystical enchantment. In spite of this, he seized several and carried off two of the tribe to serve as guides. On the fifth of October, he proceeded from this resting-place — where a memorial still remains in the name of Bahia del Almirante — southward along the coast of what is known as Costa Rica and soon entered Caribaro Bay, where he met with people wearing ornaments of gold. They said that the gold came from a country called Veragua — whence the ducal title borne to this day by the descendants of Columbus.

The Search for the Strait

Before leaving Spain, Columbus had, in a vision, seen "a strait between the regions north and south of the Antillian sea." As in delirious ailment he dallied along the shores of Costa Rica, he heard that he would soon come to a "narrow place" between two seas. Doubtless the vision and the Indians were both honest; the error lay in the interpretations. De Lorgues and the other canonizers of Columbus say that the only mistake was in making the strait of water when it should have been of land. In his mind's eye the great discoverer saw the Strait of Malakka where we see the Isthmus of Panama. In his excitement he was unwilling to wait for confirmation of the stories of the gold-mines of Veragua. He could come back for that, and so he satisfied himself with a profitable barter and a little

hostile bout with the natives, and went on his way. 1502
On the second of November, the ships anchored in the harbor to which he gave the still adhering name of Puerto Bello. Here Columbus lay during seven rainy days, after which he, with difficulty, passed the cape since known as Nombre de Dios. But the explorers soon found a harbor where the natives were friendly and provisions plenty. Columbus had joined his exploration to that of Bastidas. The coast of the continent had been traced from Brazil below the equator to the Bay of Honduras. There was no waterway from the middle Atlantic to the Pacific, and none to be for four centuries or more.

Storms, Famine, and Failure

On the fifth of December, the little squadron sailed westward from the snug harbor of El Retrete. The ships had been badly damaged by the borings of the teredo, the men were dissatisfied with leaving the gold of Veragua, and the admiral had not found the strait. The east wind that he had faced so long now shifted to the west. It seemed as if the elements were making sport of the dreamer as again he skirted what he called the Coast of Contrasts. The appalling thunder and the danger-laden lightning were continuous. The weakened ships leaked at many points and writhed as if in desperation in their nine days' wrestling for life. A waterspout was turned aside by the devotions of the crew and a famine was averted by catching sharks for food. On the ninth of January, 1503, two of the caravels entered a harbor on the coast of Veragua. Because it was Epiphany Sunday, Columbus named his refuge Belen, i.e., Bethlehem. The other caravels came in on the following day. It had taken a month to coast thirty leagues.

The Gold of Veragua

The explorations led by the adelantado gave evidence of abundant gold, and it was resolved to make a settlement. Columbus was sure that here was found the gold for the temple at Jerusalem. He had been robbed of honors and rewards that in honesty were his, he was an exile from Espanola, the strait had eluded painful search, but the great reward was now at hand—gold, gold.

1503 After three months of war and massacre and misery, and after another vision, it was decided to abandon the enterprise and to return to Haiti. Late in April, Columbus and his companions sailed away from the disastrous coast. At Puerto Bello, one of the worm-weakened caravels had to be abandoned and the men were crowded into the remaining two. On the first of May, Columbus changed his course and steered northward for Santo Domingo. He soon lost sight of the great continent that he was destined never again to see. The currents bore him far to leeward and, on the thirtieth of May, he found himself again in the Queen's Gardens. A gale further weakened the leaky little vessels which now were all the while in danger of foundering. "With three pumps and the use of pots and kettles," says Columbus, "we could scarcely clear the water that came into the ship, there being no remedy but this for the mischief done by the ship-worm."

At Jamaica

On the twenty-third of June, they made the Jamaica coast and put into Puerto Buono, now called Dry Harbor. On the following day, they were at Puerto San Gloria, known in later days as Don Christopher's Cove. Here the sinking ships were beached side by side, and their wrecks utilized for shelter and defense. Diego Mendez, a Spaniard, and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese, with Indians to ply the paddles, were sent in canoes to Santo Domingo. Mendez bore a letter from Columbus which he was to deliver to Ovando. After that, he was to go to Spain with a letter to his sovereigns. The vagaries of this letter, known as the *Lettera Rarissima*, are so marked that even Prescott, ecstatic biographer as he is, recognizes in it "sober narrative and sound reasoning strangely blended with crazy dreams and doleful lamentations." Fiesco was to return at once. After many perils and great suffering, Mendez found Ovando at Xaragua where he was waging war upon the natives. But, as Mr. Fiske reminds us, Ovando was a slippery knave who knew how to deal out promises without taking the first step toward fulfilment.

It is easy to believe that it would have been a relief to Ovando and his royal master if the admiral had perished at Jamaica and left no trace behind. Mendez was detained in Ovando's camp for seven months. After his departure for the capital, seventy leagues away, Ovando sent a caravel of espionage to Jamaica. It was commanded by Diego de Escobar, a man whom Columbus had once condemned to death. Eight months after Columbus had sent his letter to Ovando, Escobar handed Ovando's letter to the admiral and then sailed back to Santo Domingo, leaving with the castaways no help or comfort other than the certainty that Mendez had not been lost and that relief must be sent. At Santo Domingo, Mendez bought a caravel on the admiral's account and provisioned it for the occasion; after the departure of the vessel for Jamaica, he took passage for Spain. Prodded by an indignant public sentiment and open condemnation from the pulpit, Ovando sent to Columbus a second caravel in command of Salcedo, the admiral's factor.

1503
1504
Tardy Relief
April, 1504

After many days had passed and Fiesco's canoe had not come back, sickness, discontent, and open revolt wrought a year of horror on the wild coast of Jamaica. The outrages of the wandering mutineers, under the lead of Porras, cut off supplies. To avert the threatened famine, Columbus sent for the caciques and told them that God was angry with them for failing to furnish food for His white children. As a certain sign of this divine wrath, He would that very night make the moon dark. When the eclipse began as predicted by the experienced navigator, the Indians came with provisions and entreaties for intercession in their behalf. When it began to wane, Columbus assured them that, in token of their forgiveness, the sign that God had given would be removed. The caciques went away in wonder and sent supplies with satisfying regularity. After the appearance of Escobar, there was a pitched battle with the mutineers in which the adelantado was victorious, as

The Fruitful Eclipse
May 18

1504 usual. All but Porras were pardoned. Toward the end of June, the relief caravels hove in sight. The long-suffering explorers embarked on the twenty-eighth of June. The voyage was long and vexatious, and Columbus had ample opportunity to learn of Ovando's doings at Haiti.

The Encomienda

Las Casas had come out with Ovando, and upon him we must depend for the woeful history of the colony. At the landing of Ovando's fleet, the crowds hastened to the mountains only to come trooping back from the mines, hungry, sick, and empty-handed. Ovando reduced the share of the crown, but the adventurers would not labor with so little prospect of reward. In a desperate attempt to make the mines productive, the labor system inaugurated by Columbus was revived and made more inhuman. By a royal order, Ovando was allowed to sell into slavery Caribs taken in actual warfare; any native that was caught might be called a cannibal and sold. In a little while, Ovando was issuing documents worded thus: "To you, A. B., is given an encomienda of fifty [or a hundred, or five hundred] Indians, and you are to teach them the things of our holy Catholic faith." The last clause of the deed was a mere formality. "If the system of repartimientos was in effect serfdom or villeinage, the system of encomiendas was unmitigated slavery." The natives were torn from their families, carried to distant parts of the island, and kept to their work by the lash. Men were worked till they spat blood, and nursing women till the milk dried in their breasts. Spanish hounds were fed with Indian infants and a princess was bartered for a cheese. Faith is staggered by the full recital and the heart sickens at the details. When the Christians promised the pangs of eternal punishment for their heathen victims, hell "was shorn of its worst terror by the assurance that these tormentors would not be there."

A Good Governor

When the licentious conduct and exorbitant demands of the Spaniards became intolerable to the Indians of Xaragua, Ovando marched into their country with three

hundred foot and seventy horse. Anacaona, widow of Caonabo and sister of Behechio, had succeeded her brother as the ruler of the province. She received her Christian guest with much parade and barbarian ceremonial. Not to be outdone in courtesy, Ovando announced a tournament for the entertainment of his hostess and her dark-skinned retinue. At the governor's signal, the assembled sub-caciques were seized, bound to the wooden pillars of the house, and burned alive. The common herd were charged by mounted spearmen; few of them escaped from the onslaught. Anacaona was carried in chains to Santo Domingo and hanged. Like cruelties marked the pacification of Higuey, the most eastern of the provinces. In addition to this rapid extermination of the natives, Ovando was deliberately leaving scores of Spaniards to starvation in Jamaica, lest their rescue might do injury to his private interests. Still the honest Las Casas says that Ovando was a good governor — but not for Indians. 1504

Popular Welcome, August 15

When Columbus entered the harbor of Santo Domingo, the colonists crowded to the beach to greet him. Ovando deemed it prudent to make a show of courtesy and hospitality. After many petty annoyances at the hands of the governor, and inquiries by the admiral as to his pecuniary interests and the maladministration of Ovando, the Columbi made hurried preparation for departure. The ship that brought the admiral from Jamaica was refitted and put in command of the adelantado. Another caravel was bought for the conveyance of the admiral and his son. On the twelfth of September, both ships sailed for Spain. A few days later, in a storm, the ship that bore the admiral lost her mainmast. Columbus with his son and his immediate dependents were transferred to the other ship and the disabled caravel was sent back to Santo Domingo. The other vessel went on its solitary and still storm-beaten way until, on the seventh of November, 1504, and in a disabled condition, the little bark entered the port of San Lucar. The career of the great navigator was at its end. Broken

Columbus Sails for Spain

1504 in health and depressed in spirit, he had come back to claim
1506 his rights and privileges for his heir and then to die.

The Death of Isabella

In the thirty months' absence of the admiral, authority over the affairs of the Indies had been vested in the famous casa de contratacion, which was established on the twentieth of January, 1503. Many of the prerogatives that belonged to Columbus by contract were transferred to this council by royal ordinance. In that absence, also, the queen had manifested some cheap appreciation of distinguished services by making the son Diego one of her bodyguard, and by naturalizing the brother Diego to make him eligible for ecclesiastical preferment. Nineteen days after the return of the admiral to Spain, Isabella died and with her the hopes of Columbus, who knew how cold and calculating was the disposition of the king. Even she seems not to have been as good and great as she has been represented. Against what he calls "the rather cloying descriptions of Prescott," Winsor places the declaration that "she was an unlovely woman at the best, an obstructor of Christian charity. . . She was too largely a creature of her own age to be solely judged by the criteria of all ages, as lofty characters can be."

November 26

Statue of Columbus at Santo Domingo

The Regency of Ferdinand

After the death of Isabella, the crown of Castile passed to her daughter Juana and left Ferdinand restricted to his own kingdom of Aragon. But Juana soon became insane and Ferdinand, as regent of Castile, became lord of the Indies. Ferdinand was more than cold and calculating; he recognized the lack of administrative skill that Columbus had shown. Neglected by the court, Columbus spent his few remaining days in poverty and gloom. "I have," he wrote, "no place to repair to but an inn, and often with nothing to pay for my sustenance." Las Casas tells us that Ferdinand was restrained only by motives of outward decency from

a public rejection of the contract obligations into which he had entered jointly with the queen, and that he hoped, by exhausting the patience of Columbus, to induce him to accept estates in Castile in lieu of his viceregal rights in the Indies. But Columbus stood upon the bond and indignantly rejected all such intimations. Before setting out for the court, Columbus met Americus Vespucius, of whom he wrote to his son Diego: "He has always manifested a disposition to be friendly to me. . . . I have told him all that it is possible to tell him as to my own affairs." Columbus did not know of the fateful letter that Vespucius had dated on the fourth of September, 1504. On the nineteenth of May, 1506, he executed a will making his son Diego his heir, and providing that his entailed property should pass to his younger son, Ferdinand, if Diego died without heirs. In the night of the following day, in the city of Valladolid, in a house that is still shown to travelers, and with these words on his lips, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commit my spirit," Christopher Columbus died. It was Ascension Day.

1504 1506

February 5, 1505

The Coming of the End

May 20, 1506

We sail the sea of life. A calm one finds
And one a tempest; and, the voyage o'er,
Death is the quiet haven of us all.

Strange irony of Fate! He who had hoped and persisted and achieved as few men have done, he who had been the inspiration and the envy of contemporaries and had won and worn the laurel that shall endure to the end of time, passed from the earth that he had amplified in an obscurity so complete that the letters written at that very time from that very town by Peter Martyr, whom Mr. Winsor describes as a professed chronicler and busy tattler, took no notice of his death! Nearly four weeks passed before any known official record was made to show that "the said admiral is dead." But

A Brief Oblivion

Time at last makes all things even.

The body was probably first placed in the Franciscan convent at Valladolid. A few years later, it was conveyed to Seville, and in 1541 to Santo Domingo. In 1796,

The Body of Columbus

1506 after the cession of that half of the island to France, the body was removed with great pomp to Havana. When, in 1898, Spain surrendered the sovereignty of Cuba, the body was carried back to Spain. The discussion as to the identity of the ashes thus borne to Madrid is alike indeterminate and historically unimportant.

The Great Discovery was Inevitable

Columbus said: "God made me the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth of which He spake in the Apocalypse by Saint John after having spoken of it by the mouth of Isaiah; and He showed me the spot where to find it." The eager imagination that had led him to the great discovery became ungovernable, and piloted him into the belief that, under inspiration, he had been independent of the influences of his age. He would have been the last man in Europe to recognize the now palpable fact that "the new intuition was the result of intellectual reciprocity." That intuition needed a daring exponent and found one. Had it not found Columbus, it would have found some one else; the accidental discovery of Brazil by Cabral shows what must soon have followed when the explorations prompted by Prince Henry had taught European sailors to make long ocean voyages. The discovery of America was only the greatest in a series of great discoveries; the chief incident of a maritime revolution that was, in turn, only a feature of the breaking of a long intellectual slumber, only an arc of the great cycle of the world's re-formation commonly called the Renaissance.

An Imperishable Fame

Clinging to his belief that he had actually discovered a western way to the Indies, and wrapped in the fabric spun by a pious imagination, the "world-seeking Genoese" who had contributed so much to the glory and the shame of Ferdinand and Isabella laid down his viceregal robes and prisoner's chains in the full faith "that, although princes might neglect him and wicked men might defraud him, God and eternal justice would vindicate his honor and his fame." What he sought he never found; what he found he neither knew nor sought. After his death the world discovered the

discoverer of a world. Whatever may happen to other men, the memory of the wool-comber's son will, to the last syllable of recorded time, be cherished 1506

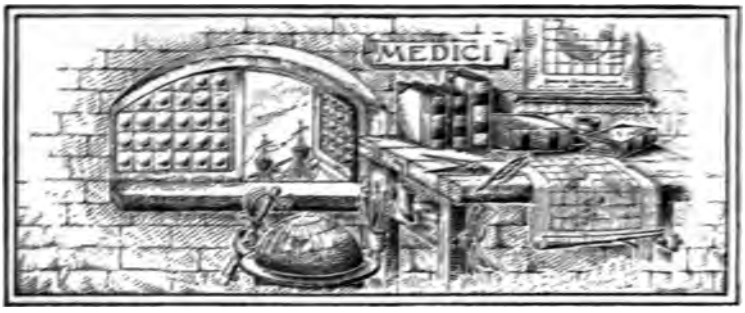
> With earth's and sea's rich gems,
> With April's first-born flowers,
> And all things rare.

Spanish Rule in America

In 1509, Ovando was succeeded by Diego Columbus. In the same year, Ojeda was sent to colonize Central America, and began his work with an infamous proclamation that justified murder and robbery under the sanction of a religion the chief attributes of which are justice, benevolence, and mercy. In 1519, Cortes pushed into the interior of Mexico. When the invaders were met by the deputies of Montezuma, Cortes asked if their king had any gold, and, when they answered that he had, truthfully said: "Let him send it to me, for I and my companions have a disease of the heart that only gold can cure." The dreadful malady was epidemic. Within a few years, the Spaniards possessed themselves of Mexico, Central America, and two-thirds of South America,

> The cross their standard, but their faith the sword.

Their treatment of the natives was unspeakable outrage, unutterable ruin, without discrimination of age or sex. Fortunately, we need not stain these pages with the full story of that ever active quest under the flag of red and yellow that, for more than four hundred years, typified love of blood and greed for gold, the historic characteristics of Spanish rule in the New World.

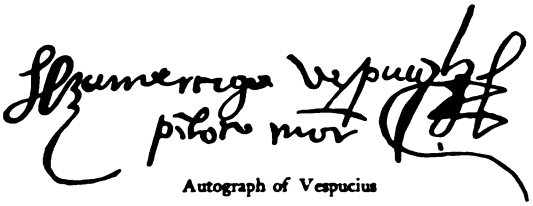


CHAPTER XV

VESPUCIUS AND "AMERICA"

Americus Vespucius in Spain

AMERICUS Vespucius, or, as he generally wrote the name, Amerigo Vespucci, was born in March, 1452, the son of a notary of Florence. Having become a clerk to the great commercial house of the Medici, he was sent, at a date not definitely known, to establish himself as agent at Cadiz. Actively engaged in furnishing supplies for ships, he became personally acquainted with Christopher Columbus and familiar with the details of his voyages of discovery.



Autograph of Vespucius

1496–1504

Concerning the critical period of his history we know little except what is told by himself in two letters, the first written to one of the Medici in 1503, the other written from Lisbon to Pietro Soderini in 1504. The first letter told of the voyage that he made from Portugal in 1501–02; the other alleged that he had made four voyages to the New World. The manuscript letters are lost; there is little probability that they will be found. The Italian text of the Medici letter is not known, but a Latin version, the *Mundus Novus*, quickly became popular. Successive editions from the presses of Germany and France, and translations into Italian, German, and Dutch, spread the fame of

His Lost Letters

Vespucius throughout Europe. The Soderini letter was printed at Florence in 1505 or 1506 and hardly saw the light until Columbus had been buried. A Latin translation from the Italian soon followed. Advocates of the essential truth of this *Quatuor Navigationes* have not yet ceased to lament "the few strange errors of editing and proofreading which were destined to embroil and perplex his story in the minds of future generations."

1497

Title-page of the "Four Voyages" of Vespucius (Reduced)

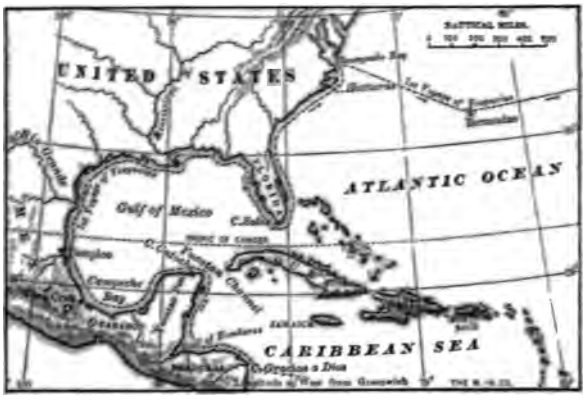
His Disputed Claim

We have already recorded Vespucius that he sailed from Cadiz on the tenth of May, 1497. The claim is admitted by Varnhagen, Fiske, and Thacher, while the general consensus of historians is to the effect that Vespucius was not on the coast of America at the time of the alleged discovery. Some writers have not hesitated to push the voyage made by Pinzon and Solis in 1508, or one contemplated by them in 1506, ahead of the third voyage of Columbus, and to send Vespucius with that expedition for the sake of securing to him the priority of continental discovery. According to the story of Vespucius, King Ferdinand had, early in 1497, determined on an expedition on his own account. The door had been opened by the decree of the tenth of April, 1495. Vespucius says: "The king, Don Fernando of Castile, being about to despatch four ships to discover new lands toward the west, I was chosen by his highness to go in that fleet to aid in making discovery." He does not claim that it was his expedition, and his exact functions do not appear. Mr. Fiske expresses regret that Vespucius "did not happen to mention the name of the chief commander. If he had realized what a world of trouble one little

1497 name, such as Pinzon, would have saved us, he would doubtless have obliged us by doing so."

The Alleged "First Voyage"

According to the primitive text of the Soderini letter, Vespucius sailed westward from the Canaries for thirty-seven days. As if in recognition of the fact that such a chronology would give John Cabot a precedence the Latin version reduces the length of the run to twenty-seven days. Some of the Vespucian advocates willingly accept the latter statement, because, "with the trade-wind nearly dead astern, and with the powerful westward current in the Caribbean Sea, the quicker run is the more probable." In this way they make out that Vespucius saw the continent two or three days before Cabot did and more than a year earlier than Columbus. Varnhagen and his followers locate the landfall on the coast of Honduras, not far from Cape Gracias a Dios. Traveling along the coast the alleged explorers came to a village built, like Venice, upon the water. This "Little Venice" is located by Varnhagen in Campeche Bay, north of Tabasco. Thence the coast was skirted for eighty leagues, bringing them to "Lariab." Vespucius says: "This land is within the torrid zone, close to or just under the parallel described by the tropic of Cancer." Thus "Lariab" was near the site of Tampico in Mexico.



Map of the Alleged First Voyage of Vespucius

Coasting the Continent

After a long delay at this place, the fleet navigated eight hundred and seventy leagues, "still following a northwest course." One of the most recent commenta-

tors says: "Mapping out these eight hundred and seventy leagues on a marine chart, and making allowances for the windings of the coast, the mouths of the Mississippi, and the long course around the southerly point of Florida, it brings our fleet to about Cape Hatteras." The vessels being much damaged by the thirteen months' voyage, it was determined to haul them upon land to calk the leaky seams. "And when we came to this determination, we were close to a harbor the best in the world." After a stay of thirty-seven days, Vespucius and his companions sailed for the Bermudas to punish the cruel island enemies of the mainland natives who had befriended them. The anticipated battle was fought, many of the islanders were killed and eleven score taken prisoners. Thence the fleet sailed for Spain, getting to Cadiz on the fifteenth of October, 1498, where the navigators were well received and the cannibal captives sold as slaves. 1498

A Dubious Story

Few comments on the credibility of this story seem to be necessary. If the voyage really took place as described, it could not have been unknown, for the expedition was ordered by the king, Vespucius went along by royal command, and made his report to the monarch. But no contemporary notice of it has come down to us. The Vespucian letters are the only authority, and, like the story of the younger Zeno, they were not given to the world until Columbus had finished his work. Much stress is laid upon the showing of the insularity of Cuba and the existence of the mainland opposite by the Cosa ox-hide map of 1500 and the Cantino map of 1502. The theory is that Vespucius told Cosa something of his 1497 trip while they were on the Pearl Coast with Ojeda in 1499. With a gleam of triumph in the eye and a gesture of demonstration, the supporters of this story demand to be told how these charts could have been drawn if Vespucius did not make his voyage in 1497, as first alleged by him seven years later. They ignore the fact that Spanish and Portuguese and French and possibly English navigators had

In Corroboration

1498 been in those parts with or without permits from Fonseca. In fact, they wave away this latter possibility with a somewhat contemptuous allusion to the "invention" of a voyage, although Mr. Fiske quotes Gomara to the effect that, under the permission of the tenth of April, 1495, "quite a number of navigators sailed, some at their own expense, others at the expense of the king; all hoped to acquire fame and wealth but, since for the most part they had only succeeded in ruining themselves with their discovering, their voyages were forgotten." The failure of Columbus to sail through the Yucatan Channel instead of going from Cuba to Honduras as he did on his fourth voyage, is explained by saying that his pilot of 1502 had been with Vespucius in 1497.

In Rebuttal

Humboldt asserts that there is documentary evidence in the archives of the casa de contratacion showing that Vespucius was engaged in equipping the third expedition of Columbus. Mr. Thacher admits that, if this is true, Vespucius's "first voyage never took place and he must be written down a monumental deceiver." The famous decree of the tenth of April, 1495, authorizing private voyages to the newly found regions, was revoked on the second of June, 1497. It is not easy to believe that King Ferdinand would thus yield to the pressure of his admiral in twenty-three days after the sailing of his own interloping fleet. Must we also ignore the improbability of the alleged fleet's running the picket-line of the Lesser Antilles, and passing the volcanic signal-stations, and crossing the Caribbean Sea to the Honduras coast, without once sighting land? The location of the "Little Venice" is also annoying to the commentators of the Varnhagen school. Mr. Thacher frankly says: "Certainly, so far as we know, there were no people on the coast of Mexico or Central America who lived habitually in this way;" and that the description recorded by Vespucius "has given some foundation for the statement that this pile-built village was not on the coast of North America at all, but near Lake Maracaibo in

Venezuela." It will be remembered that such a village had been found prior to the publication of the narrative under consideration. 1498

When Vespucius was on the border of the empire of the ancient Mexicans, they told him all about their enemies on the islands out at sea, but not a word of the mysterious semi-civilization a few leagues inland. Columbus knew of the Caribs but he never heard of the Aztecs; he might have told his friend Vespucius much about the fierceness of the former but not of the magnificence of the Montezumas. If Vespucius was exact in his use of language and traveled eight hundred and seventy leagues to the northwest from Tampico, his ships sailed over the land and were careened nearer to the Golden Gate than to Pamlico Sound or Chesapeake Bay. Mr. Fiske admits that, "upon any possible supposition, there is a blunder in the statement as it appears in the printed text." Vespucius makes no allusion to the mouths of the Mississippi, although (according to the ingenious paraphrase of his unfortunate language) "we followed the coast always in sight of land." Strange that the "Father of Waters" did not impress the Florentine observer as being worthy of honorable mention! Vespucius says that, when he left the coast, he sailed northeast to an island that he called "Ity." If the commentators who interpret the statement that Vespucius sailed eight hundred and seventy leagues northwest from Tampico and thus arrived at Cape Hatteras are right, it certainly is possible to show that Vespucius sailed northeast from Cape Hatteras and thus arrived at the Bermudas. In the absence of some such rescue, "Ity" is forever lost in the vast expanse of the North Atlantic. Inherent Inconsistencies

The history of the suit that, about 1508, Diego Columbus brought against the Spanish crown also contains negative testimony against this claim for glory won by Vespucius in 1497. In short, if we are not to throw the claim out of court on the purely negative testimony of the silence of contemporaries, or to render a verdict The Preponderance of the Evidence

1499 1502 that the voyage remained unknown because it was never made; even if we discredit the documentary evidence that assumes to set up an alibi, and thus to show that Vespucius could not have been on the North American coast in 1497; the unsupported testimony on the other side seems to break down from inherent weakness and fatal inconsistencies. This would convict the Florentine of fraud, unless the Vespucian story was a forgery, as was ably urged by General Force. But Vespucius lived for years after its publication and put in no disclaimer. While it cannot be said that the testimony is conclusive against the claims of the Varnhagen school, it is difficult to doubt that the story of the alleged first voyage was the product of a covetous imagination, and that its value can best be magnified by "the process of using fancy to give fluidity to logic." The chief consideration to the contrary is the otherwise good reputation of Vespucius.

Vespucius and Ojeda

May, 1499

Six or seven months after the date of the alleged return from the alleged first voyage, Vespucius did go to sea with the fleet commanded by Ojeda, as already recorded. In the account given by Vespucius, he speaks of the visit to Haiti "that Christoval Colombo discovered several years ago. . . . We departed from the same island on the twenty-second day of July; and we navigated during a month and a half, and entered into the port of Cadiz, which was on the eighth day of September by daylight, ending my second voyage."

Vespucius in the Service of Portugal

August 17, 1501

Cabral's accidental discovery of Brazil had revived the Portuguese ambition for discovery, and Vespucius set out for Lisbon. On the tenth of May, 1501, three ships sailed from Lisbon for the western world and with them went Vespucius, still in a subordinate capacity. They followed the African coast to Cape Verde, where they met Cabral on his return from India. Thence they sailed southwesterly for sixty-seven days to the coast of Brazil. Coasting slowly southward, they came about the middle of February to the River Plata,

where the command of the expedition seems to have fallen upon Vespucius. Thence the course was southeasterly for five hundred leagues. Why the course was changed we do not know. 1502 1503

On the seventh of April, 1502, they reached an inhospitable land that is believed to be the island of South Georgia, and that was probably not seen again by Europeans until Captain Cook rediscovered it in midsummer (January), 1775. Vespucius was thus nearly as far south as Cape Horn, the extremity of South America. The craggy island did not tempt to a protracted stay and it was soon decided to make straight for home. On the tenth of May, the fleet was at Sierra Leone on the African coast, and by the seventh of September it was back at Lisbon. Vespucius's account of this remarkable voyage is the famous *Mundus Novus* already mentioned. In speaking of the lands that he had found, he said: "It is proper to call them a New World." As this was the first printed description of the American mainland, it attracted unusual attention. The repute that it gave to Vespucius paved the way to his greater fame. The soberer judgment and the more graphic descriptions of the Florentine stood in sharp contrast with the mental wanderings of the Genoese, whose caravels had glided down the ethereal slopes of Paradise.

In the South Atlantic

Americus Vespucius

A New World

In May, 1503, Vespucius sailed from Lisbon on another voyage, the second in the service of the king of Portugal and the last of the alleged *Quatuor*. The purpose of the voyage was to find Malakka, the rich gateway of the East. Fate was stronger than purpose and the fleet landed at a small uninhabited island

The Second Voyage to Brazil

1503 (Fernando de Noronha) off the Brazilian coast and about
1512 three degrees south of the equator. After the customary wreck had taken place, Vespucius lost sight of the other ships; eight days later, he fell in with one of them; from that time the two sailed in company. After patient but vain waiting for the other three, the two ships sailed southward and landed at Cape Frio, near Rio de Janeiro. Here they built a blockhouse and, after a five months' stay, returned to Portugal, "leaving twenty-four men in the fortress with twelve pieces of cannon, a good outfit of small arms, and provisions for six months." It is said that the fort was maintained as late as 1511. On the eighteenth of June, 1504, Vespucius returned to Lisbon with two of the six ships, and reported that the other four were lost through the pride and folly of the commander (probably Gonzalo Coelho), adding the suggestion that God had thus punished arrogance. But, as Mr. Winsor says, Vespucius either misunderstood the divine will or misjudged his commander, for the other ships soon after returned in safety.

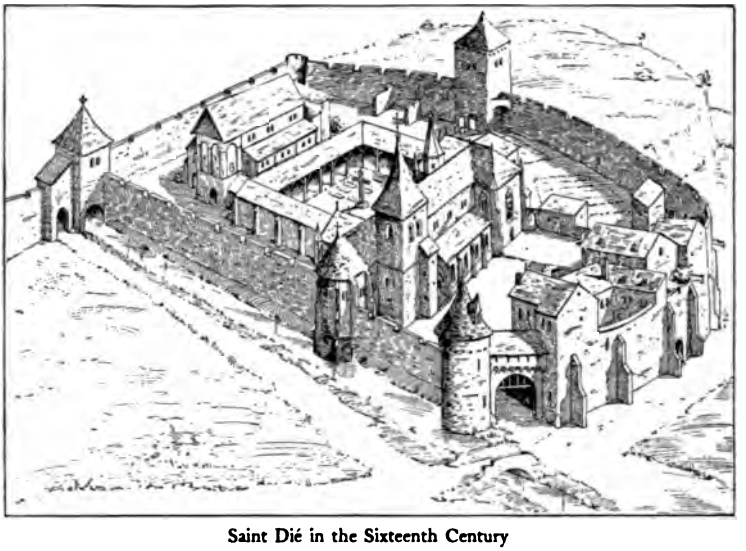
Fame, Fortune, and Glory

Soon after this, Vespucius married a Spanish lady, became a naturalized Castilian, and was appointed a captain in the Spanish navy. It is claimed that, in 1505, he and La Cosa made a voyage to the Pearl Coast and to the golden sands of Veragua, the profits of which voyage were so great that the venture was repeated two years later. On the twenty-second of March, 1508, Vespucius became Spain's pilot-major, an office specially created for him. With fame came rest. He died on the twenty-second of February, 1512, leaving no children and little wealth, but a name that is clothed with a glory the greatest that accident and caprice ever granted to man.

Saint Die

In the seventh century, Saint Deodatus founded a chapel among the Vosges Mountains, not far from Strassburg. In the eleventh century, the chapel became a collegiate institution under ecclesiastical supervision. Houses clustered round the school and from them grew a city, the Saint Dié of the sixteenth century and today.

The site was in a border-land and the times were times of trouble; so the collegiate chapter fortified itself as the feudal lord of the neighborhood. It was here that 1507



Saint Dié in the Sixteenth Century

Pierre d'Ailly wrote the *Imago Mundi*, that powerfully influenced the mind of Christopher Columbus. As the field of education opened, the "Gymnase Vosgien" was founded for scientific study. Among the members of this learned society were Mathias Ringman, professor of Latin, and Martin Waldseemueller, professor of geography. Following what was a custom of the day, Ringman affected "a dog-Latin epithet, Philesius," while Waldseemueller often wrote for his German name its Greek equivalent, Hylacomylus. It seems that somewhere, probably at Paris, Ringman had picked up a Latinized copy of Vespucius's first letter, a new edition of which he soon brought out at Strassburg.

See page 118

Early in 1507, under the patronage of Walter Lud, secretary of René II., the reigning duke of Lorraine, there was set up at Saint Dié a printing-press, the first issue of which was a timely treatise on geography, the *Cosmographiæ Introductio.* Accompanying the *Cosmo-*

The *Cosmographiæ Introductio*

1507 *graphiæ Introductio* was the *Quatuor Navigationes*, i.e., a Latin translation of the letter that Vespucius wrote to Soderini, some of Ringman's verses eulogistic of the Florentine navigator, and a map of the world. Although a thousand copies of the map were printed and quickly circulated, it was long thought that not one had been preserved. In 1901, Father Fischer discovered a copy in the library of Wolfegg castle in Wurttemberg, and on the map found the word "America." Even more interesting than the long-lost map is the following passage from Waldseemueller's introduction to the *Quatuor Navigationes:* "I do not see why it may not be permitted to call this fourth part after Americus, the discoverer, a man of sagacious mind, by the name of Amerigen—that is to say, the Land of Americus—or America, since both Europe and Asia have a feminine form of name from the names of women." This is the first known occurrence of the name "America." In an obscure mountain-town, an unknown geographer, after reading a probably fraudulent narrative and magnifying the deeds of his self-painted hero, innocently penned that "christening sentence, the most important in the ritual of nomenclature." It is not probable that Vespucius had any personal knowledge of any of the scholars at Saint Dié; in fact, there is no evidence implicating him in an attempt to foist his name on a continent, as has been often charged. At the time of the appearance of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, only two or three descriptions of western discoveries had appeared. A curious public eagerly bought the little quarto and, by its perusal, was led unresistingly to the belief that the name "America" was a proper name as well as a proper noun.

The Birth of a Name

In what he calls his third voyage, Vespucius sailed over a terrestrial arc of more than ninety degrees; in his account of that voyage he spoke of the lands he found as a New World. He had not then written his claim of wonderful exploration north of the equator, and it is easily possible that the "Mundus Novus" or New World that he had in mind included only the countries

The Name Intended for Brazil

from Cape Sao Roque southward. Thus it might be said that, in 1503, the Old World and the New World stood on the opposite sides, not of the Atlantic, but of the equator. It is equally possible that Waldseemueller 1507

Schoener's Globe of 1520 (Western Hemisphere)

intended to apply the name "America" only to Brazil. Mr. Fiske insists that this is true. Mr. Gay, in speaking of the fort established by Vespucius, suggests that as the settlement was planted by Vespucius, and as it was the first colony of Europeans in that part of the New World, there was an evident and just propriety in bestowing the derivative of his name upon the country, which at first was known as the Land of the True Cross,

1507 and afterward as Brazil. The name of Brazil was retained when the wider application, "America," was given to the whole continent.

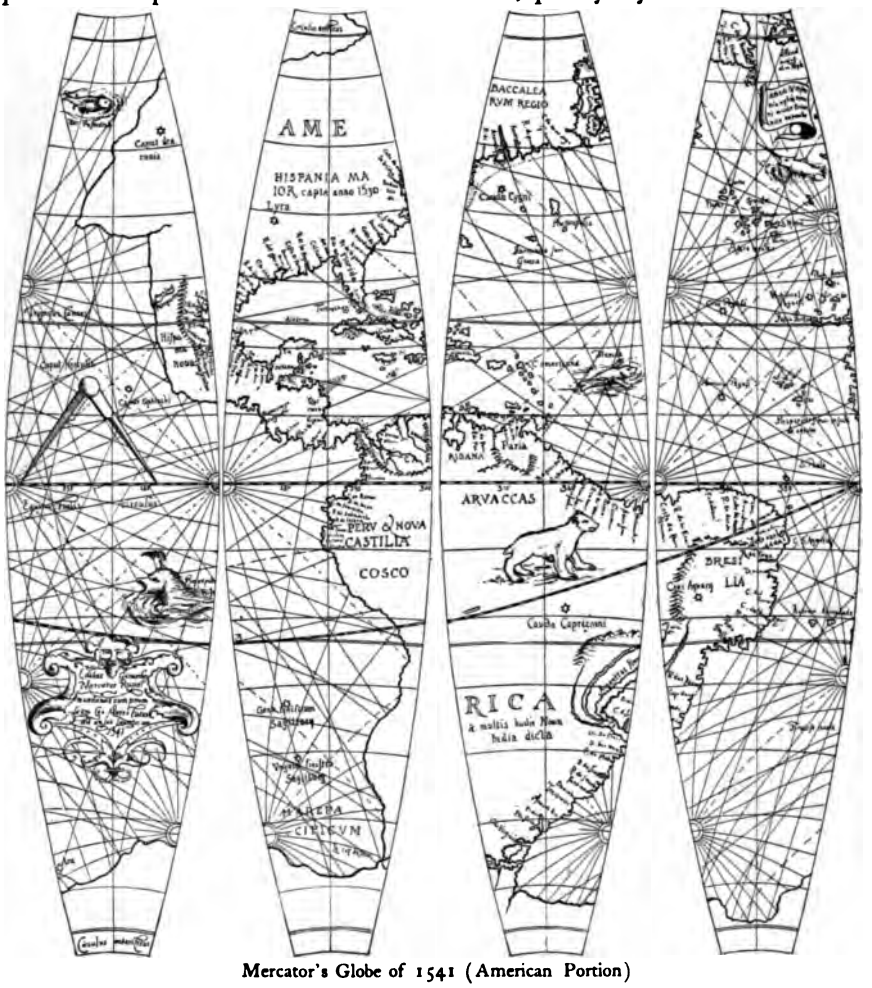
A Probable Theory

This theory is strengthened by the fact that, on the Apianus map of 1520, generally supposed to be the earliest to bear the name, "America Provincia" is placed along the eastern coast of Brazil. On Schoener's globe of the same year, the name reads "America vel Brasilia." It seems probable that the reason why Ferdinand Columbus recorded no protest against the name "America" is that, until after his death in 1539, that name was used as a synonym for our Brazil and not with its twentieth-century meaning. The conception of a distinct western hemisphere disentangled itself but slowly from the mass of ancient fact and fancy and the greater mass of rapidly increasing and slowly assimilated geographical data. Even after the sorry remnant of Magellan's fleet returned to Spain with the story of the first circumnavigation of the globe, even after 1580 when Sir Francis Drake came back from the second crossing of the Pacific, that watery immensity and the American continental mass were but faintly comprehended.

Condoned Robbery

The name coined by Hylacomylus gained general acceptance slowly. The Spanish maps of 1527 and 1529 designate South America by the name proposed by Vespucius himself, viz., "Mundus Novus." Las Casas knew of the German usage, for in his *Historia* he says, "Foreign writers call the country America," and speaks of it as "theft and usurpation." By 1540, Europeans were navigating the Pacific and geographers were becoming familiar with the fact that a new continent had been found. On Mercator's map of 1541, the name was applied, probably for the first time, to both continents of the western hemisphere. The atlas of Ortelius, published in 1570, and the first of modern times worthy of the name, contained a map of the New World that bore the name "America," and brought it into general use. Mercator and Ortelius were the greatest

geographers of their age, and their influence, combined with the euphonious sound of the name and its analogy to the names of the other continents, exceeded the power of Spain to root it out. Thus, partly by fraud 1507



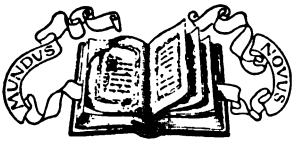
Mercator's Globe of 1541 (American Portion)

and partly by accident, Columbus was cheated of his due. They who follow are only disciples, says Newton. We may sorrowfully echo the words of Dr. Francis Lieber: "Ethically speaking, there has never been

1507 erected a monument so magnificent, enduring, and cruelly unjust; as if the Sistine Madonna were called, not by Raphael's name, but by that of the man who framed it first." There is little probability that the wrong will ever be made right. The world seems to have condoned the offense.

Other Theories

In 1875, Dr. Jules Marcou advanced the plausible theory that "America" was not derived from Americus as above set forth, but that the New World was named from the Amerrique Indians and the Amerrique Mountains, the name being indigenous to Central America and becoming familiar to Columbus and his crew while they were at Veragua. It is urged that, when Columbus and his companions related their adventures, they would likely boast of the gold-mines and say that they lay in the direction of Amerrique. The name thus introduced into Spain gradually penetrated Europe, and thus came to the little mountain-town of Saint Dié. Just as Scipio became "Scipio Africanus" by reason of his victories in Africa, just as we speak of "Congo Stanley" because Stanley explored the Congo, so Hylacomylus, having heard the name "Amerrique," easily made the mistake of transforming the forename of Vespucci from Amerigo to Americus. The ingenious theory is ably urged, but it is not supported by any contemporaneous evidence that these possibilities were realities. It has not been generally accepted. Other explanations, more or less fantastic, have been advanced in explanation of the naming of the New World. Meanwhile Waldseemueller and Saint Dié remain as unchallenged historical facts.



CHAPTER XVI

BALBOA AND MAGELLAN

SOON after Diego Columbus succeeded to his inheritance, the king ordered that the revenue dûe the viceroy should be paid to his heir. In due time, Diego was in receipt of four hundred and fifty thousand ounces of gold annually from Haiti, but he also demanded a restitution of the honors and powers that had pertained to his father. With the consent of the king, he brought a suit against the crown before the council of the Indies. This suit was begun in 1508. Although in one form or another it dragged along for years, the tribunal soon practically decided it in favor of Diego. The successful litigant at law promptly became a successful suitor for the hand of the niece of the duke of Alva, one of the proudest grandees of Spain. This alliance brought a powerful support to the demand for royal acquiescence in the orders of the council, and Ferdinand conceded all except the title of viceroy. Ovando was recalled and Diego Columbus was commissioned as governor of Haiti.

August 24, 1507

The Successes of Diego Columbus

On the ninth of June, 1509, Diego sailed from San Lucar, accompanied by his wife, his brother, his uncles Bartholomew and Diego, and a brilliant retinue. On the tenth of July, they arrived at Santo Domingo where Diego and his "vice-queen" set up and maintained their court with pomp and splendor unprecedented in the New World. In their retinue, besides the many cavaliers and their wives, were numerous feminine adventurers

Diego's Rule in Haiti

1509 whose fortunes lay in rank and beauty rather than in lands and gold. The venture of the maidens was successful, for "all of them were soon married to the wealthiest colonists and refined the rude manners that prevailed among them." As if determined that Diego's rule should be confined to Haiti, the king set up on the mainland near the isthmus the two provinces soon to be described, and attempted to give an independent government to Porto Rico. Before long, the influence of the governor was further weakened by the institution (October 5, 1511) of the *audiencia*, a sort of colonial court of appeals. The profitable system of repartimientos was left undisturbed, but, in 1512, the king commanded that negro slaves be imported from Guinea and that, in other ways, the labors of the Indians be made lighter. The heavy hand of royal displeasure seems to have been gradually lifted and, in 1514, Diego was so far invested with the viceregal powers that had been stripped from his father as to be able to send his uncle Bartholomew to govern in Veragua. The adelantado died at Santo Domingo in 1515. King Ferdinand died on the twenty-third of January, 1516. For four years, nothing was done in the matter of Diego's claims.

Diego as Viceroy

In 1520, Diego loaned to Charles V., the successor of Ferdinand, ten thousand ducats, about a fifth of his annual income from Haiti, and was reinstated in authority as viceroy. Three years later, he was recalled to Spain and, three years after that, he died. He was succeeded by his son, Don Luis, who, in 1536, abandoned his claims upon the revenues of the Indies and the title of viceroy, and received in lieu thereof the island of Jamaica in fief, the office of admiral of the Indies, the title of duke of Veragua, an estate twenty-five leagues square in that province, and an annuity of ten thousand ducats. In 1540, he returned to Haiti with the title of captain-general. In 1551, he went back to Spain. In 1556, Philip II., who had succeeded Charles V., took from him Veragua and his power as admiral and decreed for him the honorary title of admiral

February 23, 1526

The Duke of Veragua

CHAPTER XVI

BALBOA AND MAGELLAN

SOON after Diego Columbus succeeded to his inheritance, the king ordered that the revenue dûe the viceroy should be paid to his heir. In due time, Diego was in receipt of four hundred and fifty thousand ounces of gold annually from Haiti, but he also demanded a restitution of the honors and powers that had pertained to his father. With the consent of the king, he brought a suit against the crown before the council of the Indies. This suit was begun in 1508. Although in one form or another it dragged along for years, the tribunal soon practically decided it in favor of Diego. The successful litigant at law promptly became a successful suitor for the hand of the niece of the duke of Alva, one of the proudest grandees of Spain. This alliance brought a powerful support to the demand for royal acquiescence in the orders of the council, and Ferdinand conceded all except the title of viceroy. Ovando was recalled and Diego Columbus was commissioned as governor of Haiti.

August 24, 1507

The Successes of Diego Columbus

On the ninth of June, 1509, Diego sailed from San Lucar, accompanied by his wife, his brother, his uncles Bartholomew and Diego, and a brilliant retinue. On the tenth of July, they arrived at Santo Domingo where Diego and his "vice-queen" set up and maintained their court with pomp and splendor unprecedented in the New World. In their retinue, besides the many cavaliers and their wives, were numerous feminine adventurers

Diego's Rule in Haiti

1510 boundary line between. The eastern province was called New Andalusia, and the western was named Castilia del Oro. In spite of many obstacles, Ojeda
November 12, 1509 left Santo Domingo with Juan de la Cosa and three hundred men. Five days later, they landed at the harbor of Cartagena. In a fight with the natives, Juan de la Cosa and more than sixty other Spaniards were killed. Nicuesa soon arrived and the joined forces of the two commanders drove back the natives and recovered the body of La Cosa. The fleets then separated. At the entrance to the Gulf of Uraba (Darien), Ojeda began a town that he named San Sebastian. The fort was besieged, the poisoned arrows of the natives were dangerous, and starvation soon threatened. Leaving the command to Francisco Pizarro, the destined conqueror of Peru, Ojeda went for relief. After great suffering, he reached Santo Domingo and found that Enciso, his lieutenant, had sailed for the colony with provisions and recruits. Ojeda's subsequent movements are not clearly known; he never returned to New Andalusia.

Balboa

On the way to San Sebastian, Enciso's vessel was wrecked and all the stores were lost. Ojeda's colony was as badly off as before. Abandoning San Sebastian at the suggestion of Vasco Nunez de Balboa (generally spoken of as Balboa), a bankrupt farmer of Haiti who had previously been in that region with Bastidas, the Spaniards crossed to the other side of the gulf, drove the natives from one of their villages, took possession, and called the place Santa Maria del Antigua del Darien. Enciso was soon deposed from the command and a government was instituted with Balboa and Zamudio as alcaldes. Ojeda's colonists were now in the territory of Nicuesa. Of the seven hundred men who had left Haiti with that

Vasco Nunez de Balboa

December, 1510

adventurer thirteen months before, not more than seventy remained alive at the settlement that they had called Nombre de Dios. When Nicuesa, in sorry plight, subsequently arrived off Antigua seeking the adherence of the settlers to his government, they put him on a worn-out vessel and started him for Haiti. He was never heard of again. 1510 1513 March, 1511

Because of factional divisions at Antigua, Enciso and Zamudio sought the Spanish court. Commissioned by Diego Columbus as governor of Darien, Balboa set out with fewer than two hundred men and a pack of bloodhounds, seeking the reported sea south of the mountains. On the twenty-fifth of that month, from a mountain peak, Balboa, first of Europeans, gazed upon the great expanse of water that covers half the surface of the globe. As the ocean that he had crossed lay behind him at the north and the ocean that he saw stretched before him toward the south, he naturally called it the South Sea. He who mercilessly killed the natives in his way, "hewing them in pieces as the Butchers doe fleshe in the shambles, from one an arme, from another a legge, from him a buttocke, from another a shoulder, and from some a necke from the bodie at one stroke," was now overcome with "an ecstasy of delight, of triumph and devotion." He fell upon his knees and, with his companions, "praised God with loud voices for joy." In the name of his king and queen,* Balboa claimed possession of the ocean and of all lands whose shores it washed. Four days later, he marched into the water and, with drawn sword, again claimed it for the Spanish monarchs. The arm of the ocean that he found still bears the name he gave it—the Gulf of San Miguel. By the nineteenth of January, 1514, the command was again at Antigua. Balboa's March, September 1, 1513 The South Sea

Before the discovery of the South Sea was known in Spain, a new governor had sailed for Antigua. He was Pedro Arias de Avila, better known as Pedrarias, "one of those two-legged tigers of whom Spain had so many Panama

* Ferdinand, the widower of Isabella, married again in 1505.

1513 at that time." With him came Enciso, Hernando de
1517 Soto, Bernal Diaz, the narrator of the conquest of Mexico, Oviedo, the historian of the West Indies, and a company of fifteen hundred. A chain of posts across the isthmus was established and the old town of Panama
August, 1519 was founded. The natives were treated in the most inhuman fashion and large quantities of gold accumulated.

Balboa's Trial and Death

In the meantime, Balboa was treated with little favor. The king had appointed him governor of the province of Panama and adelantado to make discoveries along the shores of the sea that he had found. But Pedrarias withheld the commission and threw the king's appointed into prison. When Balboa promised to marry the governor's daughter, the prison-bars were thrown down and the commission was delivered. With incredible toil timber was carried across the mountains from Acla, the northern terminus of the road, and a few small vessels built. As there was need of iron and pitch, one Garabito was sent to Acla. Because of a jealous love, Garabito reported that Balboa intended to abandon the governor's daughter for the sake of a native mistress with whom he was about to sail southward to set up an independent government. The furious father enticed Balboa to Acla and had him arrested, convicted, and promptly executed for treason and the murder of
1517 Nicuesa. "Thus perished, in the forty-second year of his age, the man who, but for that trifle of iron and pitch, would probably have been the conqueror of Peru."

Magellan

Balboa's discovery had less effect upon knowledge of the waters west of the western world than did the steady eastward progress of the Portuguese and the struggle for commercial supremacy in the Indian Ocean. Although the data thus accumulated might be made to show that Asia did not extend as far east as Toscanelli had taught, the breadth of the South Sea was too great for the minds of navigators to take in except by actual experience. That experience was soon to be supplied. Ferdinand

Magellan was a Portuguese who had been trained by seven years of sailing in eastern waters and fighting against the Arabs and the Malays. The king of Portugal did not smile upon his scheme of reaching the East by sailing west. For this and other slights, Magellan renounced his country and went to Spain where an expedition was provided for him. 1517 1519

October, 1517

Ferdinand Magellan

His Expedition

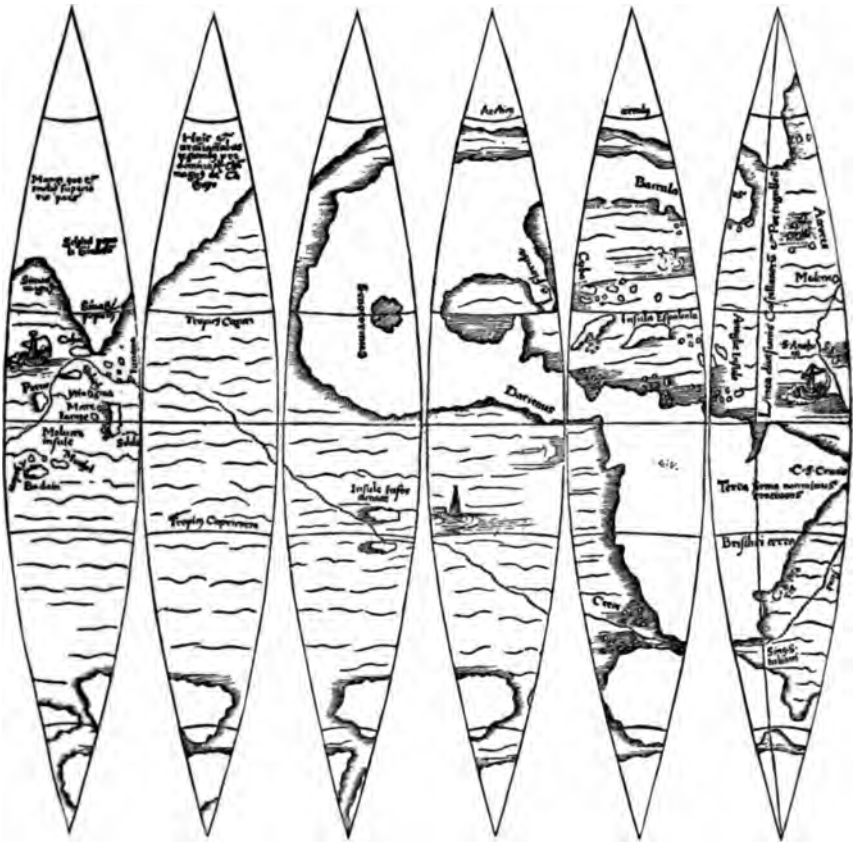
With five ships and a motley crew of about two hundred and eighty men, Magellan sailed from Spain on the twentieth of September, 1519. With the fleet went a young Italian, Pigafetta, the naïve historian of the expedition. Late in November, they were on the Brazilian coast, and in January, 1520, they were at the mouth of the Plata. For two months, they battled with intense cold and violent storms along the Patagonia coast. On the last day of March, they cast anchor in their winter quarters at Port Saint Julian. On the next day, a long-smoldering mutiny broke out. The mutineers felt that they had gone far enough and that the promised hardships of an antarctic winter were too much. In less than twenty-four hours, one of the rebellious captains had been killed and his accomplices taken into custody. One of the captured captains was beheaded. Another captain and a "guilty priest" were kept in irons until the departure of the fleet in the early spring, when they were set ashore and left to their fate. Magellan's ideals of discipline were rather rigid and there was no further open defiance. A vessel sent to explore the coast was lost, but all of the crew were saved.

August 24, 1520

On the twenty-first of October, the explorers entered what has since been known as Magellan Strait and then spent five weeks in working their dangerous way through its "labyrinthine twists and half-hidden bays." In the

An Interoceanic Passage

1520 course of this tedious exploration, a cabal on board the "San Antonio" put its loyal captain in irons and escaped from the squadron, retraced the tortuous channel, and sailed for Spain. The chief of these deserters was the pilot Estevan Gomez, whom we shall meet



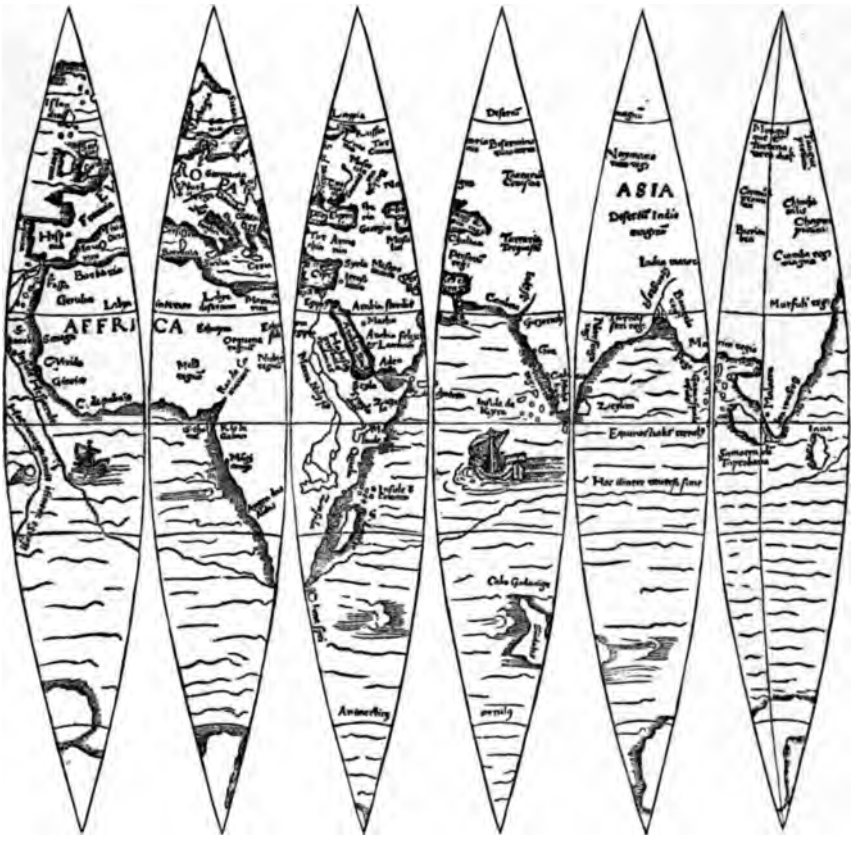
The so-called Schoener Gore Map (Western Hemisphere)

in another chapter. On the southern side of the strait fires were often seen at night, and so that land was called Tierra del Fuego, i.e., the Land of Fire.

November 28, 1520 Emerging from the strait and the heavy storms, Magellan found the South Sea so pleasant that he called it the Pacific.

They were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea. 1520

More than once, Magellan had rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Now, instead of a headland washed by the ocean, there was a narrow strait between shores that



The so-called Schoener Gore Map (Eastern Hemisphere)

were parallel and of like aspect. He had apparently come to the end of one continent and the beginning of another. The theory agreed well with current notions, and for more than two centuries men believed in the existence of a fictitious continent—Terra Australis.

The hardships and sufferings to come were worse

1521 The Passage of the Pacific

than those that had been endured. Biscuits that were full of worms, water that was putrid and yellow, scurvy, death; that unfathomed abyss of space ahead and retreat impossible; even the ignorant understood that their only chance for life lay in going on. In sailing ten thousand miles, Magellan found but two solid resting-places, both of which were uninhabited. On the sixth of March, 1521, and after inconceivable suffering, the remaining three ships came to islands where they found fruits, vegetables, meats, and such eager thieves that Magellan gave them the still enduring name "Ladrones," or "Isles of Robbers." Ten days later, the fleet arrived at the islands since known as the Philippines. The name of Columbus had been almost forgotten but the dream of Columbus had been realized. Here the weary navigators, half-starved and dying of the scurvy, lingered.

With marvelous rapidity, the native king and many of his princes and people were converted to Christianity. The idols were burned, a cross was set up, and the converts were baptized. With an exalted idea of the powers of the white strangers and with a possible desire to test the efficacy of his new religion, the Christian king of Sebu set out to humble the pagan potentate of a neighboring island. Magellan having turned missionary, now turned crusader; he was not the man to abandon his new convert. In a desperate fight the Spaniards were defeated and Magellan was killed. According to Mr. Fiske, the defeat of the white men convinced the king of Sebu that he had overestimated the blessings of Christianity, and so, by way of atonement for the slight he had cast upon the gods of his fathers, he invited some thirty of the leading Spaniards to a banquet and massacred them. One of the three vessels being found unfit for sea, it was burned to the water's edge. One of the remaining two sprang a leak.

The Death of Magellan, April 27, 1521

The Return to Spain

It was then decided that the "Victoria" with Sebastian del Cano and forty-six men should hasten to the Cape of Good Hope and thence to Spain; the "Trini-

dad" was to be repaired and then to sail with the other fifty-four men for Panama. The "Victoria" doubled the cape on the sixteenth of May, 1522. On their arrival at the Cape Verde Islands, the wanderers were surprised to find that the day was Thursday, for by their own account it was Wednesday. As they had "sayled three yeares continually euer followynge the soonne towarde the West, they had loste one daye." On the sixth of September, Del Cano sailed into the mouth of the Guadalquivir with seventeen survivors of the first circumnavigation of the globe. It was the thirtieth anniversary of the day when Columbus first sailed westward from the Canaries. How full those thirty years! The next passage of the Pacific was made by Sir Francis Drake in 1577–80. From these long digressive voyages in the Pacific we must now return, with more consideration for chronology, to Cuba and the Gulf Coast.

1522

The "Victoria"

July 9, 1522

CHAPTER XVII

CORTES, PONCE DE LEON, AND LAS CASAS

Cuba is found to be an Island

IN 1508, Ovando, as governor of Haiti, sent Sebastian de Ocampo to determine whether Cuba (then called Fernandina) was or was not an island. Ocampo settled the question by circumnavigation. In 1511, Diego Columbus sent Diego Velasquez to explore and conquer Cuba. Velasquez soon threw off his allegiance to the new admiral. In 1516, because of a scarcity of food in New Andalusia, there was a migration from the isthmus to Cuba; one of the hundred was Bernal Diaz. In Cuba, the newcomers found that there were not enough natives to go around, and so they used some of their gold in fitting out an expedition, nominally for discovery of new lands but really for the capture of more slaves. Governor Velasquez seems to have been a partner in the venture. The commander of the three ships and of the hundred soldiers that made up the expedition was Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, whom Las Casas describes as a man "very prudent and courageous, and strongly disposed to kill and kidnap Indians." Cordova's pilot was Antonio de Alaminos who had been with Columbus on the Honduras coast.

Cordova's Cruise

The hunters set out from Santiago in February, 1517, and sailed through the Windward Passage east of Cuba. It is probable that their purpose was to go to the Bahamas and that storms drove them from their course. They touched at the lately founded town of Havana, and soon arrived at the northeast corner of Yucatan.

Here they found the hostile Mayas and got their first glimpse of a magnificence that seemed to justify their hopes that they were not far from the dominions of the great khan. After a two weeks' cruise along the coast from Cape Catoche to Campeche, they were shown huge pueblo fortresses and stone temples with sculptured serpents on the walls and with altars dripping with fresh blood. "We were amazed," says Bernal Diaz, "at the sight of things so strange." At another point they were attacked and defeated by the natives. More than half of the Spaniards were killed and nearly all of the rest were wounded. Another storm drove the survivors past Cuba to the Florida west coast where Alaminos had been before. Here six of the Spaniards, including Alaminos and Bernal Diaz, who records the incident in his history, and Cordova the commander were wounded by the natives. The Spaniards reëmbarked and hastily left the inhospitable coast. Cordova soon died of his wounds in Cuba. In this same year, Martin Luther nailed his defiant ninety-five theses to the church-door at Wittenberg.

1517

Maya Culture

The discovery of Yucatan changed the course of Spanish enterprise. Although, in a quarter of a century, eighteen thousand adventurers had settled in Haiti, all attempts to colonize the mainland had ended in failure. The object of the new movement was the exploration of a continent in search of rich aboriginal communities for conquest and plunder. Such a method of extending territorial dominion and accumulating wealth was more congenial to Spanish disposition than the slow process of colonization. By the end of another quarter-century, Spanish authority had been established throughout a vast intertropical region, chiefly on the Pacific side of the continent and including Mexico and Peru.

A New Spanish Domain

The story of the riches of the southern country led Velasquez to send Juan de Grijalva with four ships and two hundred and fifty soldiers. They sailed from Santiago in April, 1518. May found them coasting from Yucatan toward Mexico. In June, one of the

Grijalva's Expedition

1518 tax-gatherers of Montezuma, the Aztec chief of that region, heard of great towers that carried wings and moved upon the sea. The Aztec agent hastened to the shore. After an exchange of gifts, the bearded strangers went their way, while Pinotl hurried by the shortest trail to report to Montezuma that he had seen and talked with gods. There was an ancient Mexican belief that one of the sky gods had floated out to sea saying that, in the fulness of time, he would return with fair-skinned companions to resume his rule over his people. Before the messengers of Montezuma could reach the coast with princely presents for the companions of Quetzalcoatl,* now returning in fulfilment of prophecy, Grijalva and his winged towers had disappeared. On Saint John's day, the Spaniards came to an island that they called San Juan de Ulua. Here the traffic with the natives was so brisk that Pedro de Alvarado was sent back to Cuba with a caravel that needed repair, half a hundred sick and wounded men, and the gold that had been secured. The other three ships continued the cruise to the vicinity of the Panuco, i.e., nearly to the site of Tampico. From this point the fleet retraced its course, trading along the shore and arriving at Cuba in October. Stimulated by the spoil sent back, Velasquez quickly prepared another expedition.

The Legend of Quetzalcoatl

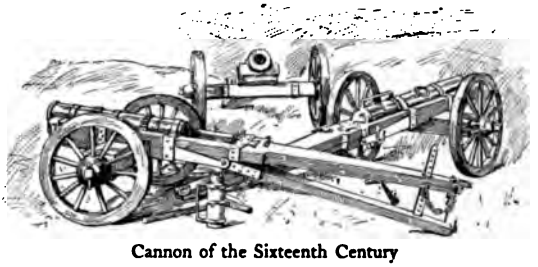
The Coming of Cortes

Hernando Cortes had brought away from Salamanca "a little Latin and a lean store of other learning." In 1504, he sailed from Spain for Haiti, where "he varied the monotony of life with love intrigues and touches of military bravado." In 1511, he went to Cuba with Velasquez. Prior to the return of Grijalva, he was commissioned as commander of the new expedition. Velasquez gave his instructions, and Cortes resolved that they should be "followed when necessary and disregarded when desirable." When the worried governor

October 23, 1518

* According to some of the believers in the Chinese discovery of America (see page 64), Quetzalcoatl was the leader of a party of five Buddhist priests who visited Mexico in the fifth century and one of whom, Hoei-Shin, returned alone to China.

tried to depose him, Cortes took one of the messengers into his service and sent the other back with protestations of affectionate regard. When, on the eighteenth of February, 1519, the adventurer sailed from the Cuban coast, he had eleven vessels (the largest measured a hundred tons), about seven hundred men, two hundred male and female slaves, sixteen horses, ten cannons, and four falconets. From the point of Yucatan the shore was skirted westward. Early in March, Cortes defeated the natives in a battle at Tabasco, received large presents from the native chief, and reëmbarked his troops. 1519



Cannon of the Sixteenth Century

Cortes next cast anchor at San Juan de Ulua whence he sent messengers with gifts to Montezuma. A rising faction among his followers was quieted by constituting a wandering municipality competent to choose a representative of the royal authority. Cortes resigned his commission from the governor of Cuba; the municipality at once invested him with supreme power. The issue was clearly cut; the new captain-general must win Mexico or lose his head. A commission was sent to Spain with gold to secure the sanction of the king. The commissioners sailed from the Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz on the twenty-sixth of July, 1519. Alaminos, the pilot, touched at the corner of Cuba, and Velasquez sent two fast-sailing vessels to seize the ship. The skilful pilot had ranged the Florida peninsula with Ponce de Leon and Cordova and, therefore, must have noticed the Gulf Stream and its direction. He now struck out a new route by way of the Bahama Channel or Strait of Florida, and thus made known the existence of a clear sea way between the West India Islands and the continent. How far north he sailed before taking his course east, we do not know. Early in December, the treasure sent by Cortes was forwarded to the casa de contratacion at Seville. Cortes in Mexico

1519 After the departure of the commissioners for Spain, the vessels remaining in the Mexican harbor sank, one after another, as if they were worm-eaten; the fleet had

Map of the Country between the Gulf Coast and the Valley of Mexico

been destroyed. There was now no possibility of desertion and the march to the capital of the war chief or "emperor" of the Aztecs was assured. The Aztec confederacy had been formed half a century before, and the island pueblo of Tenochtitlan had been made impregnable against Indian attack. From thirty or more towns between the capital and the coast, tribute was wrung with bloody hands and their people roused to rage. They were ready to welcome any chance of delivery from their oppression. The era of Aztec conquest was cut short by the advance of Cortes and his little army. There was much fighting on the way, but by wiles and valor all obstacles were overcome. Before arriving at the Aztec capital, Cortes and the Spaniards were followed by an army of six thousand native allies. Moreover, the Spanish armor was proof against Indian weapons; the Spanish cannon and harquebus blazed forth fire and death and awakened superstitious fear; and the horses inspired universal terror. On a somewhat slender basis it has been said that back of all these things was a general belief in the return of Quetzalcoatl to renew his rule over the Mexican people, a belief that largely paralyzed the opposition to the advance of the Spaniards. Mr. Fiske reminds us that to offer chances to a dull-

The Aztec Confederacy

witted man is like casting pearls before swine, but Hernando Cortes was a genius. 1519

The Spanish Advance

After climbing from the lowlands to the plateau more than seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, the Spaniards marched upon Tlascala, a powerful pueblo that the Aztecs had been unable to subdue. After much fighting which, according to their habit, was often at the break of day, the Tlascalans were convinced that these children of the sun were proof against wounds and death and that they had the power of reading the secret thoughts of men. They, therefore, sought an alliance with the irresistible invaders. Tlascala was nearly a fair match for the Aztec confederacy, and the advance of its horde in friendly alliance with those who had defeated them with superhuman ease filled Tenochtitlan with consternation. On the way lay Cholula to which the Spaniards were admitted for the purpose of entrapping them. Through the quick wit and faithful love of an Indian woman, Cortes discovered the plot and rewarded it with fearful slaughter. Through the confident conspirators crowded in the public places the artillery of Spain sent its irresistible messengers of woe, the still more unearthly horsemen — "hippocentaurs clad in shining brass" — made their impetuous charge, and the Tlascalans rushed into the town and began a general massacre. When an end had been put to the slaughter, Cortes released the human victims that had been caged for sacrifice, burned at the stake some of the captured chiefs, and again took up his line of march. Thus runs the story, some of the worst details of which do not stand above doubt and denial. Recognizing prudence as the better part of valor, Montezuma met the invaders outside the fortifications of his

Montezuma

PLAN OF TENOCHTITLAN AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST
(Also showing a chart of the Gulf of Mexico)

city and, with a politeness born of fear, bade them welcome to Tenochtitlan. To check foul designs, Cortes seized Montezuma and held him as a hostage. Tribute was ordered and wealth from all the provinces was poured at the feet of the conqueror. The submission of the

1519

The Imprisonment of Montezuma, November 8

Map of the Valley of Mexico in 1519

imprisoned "emperor" was absolute and abject. "Cortes was now acting governor of Tenochtitlan with Montezuma as his mouthpiece." That mouthpiece was both war chief and high priest, and without him his people could not act. Thus the winter went by without any outbreak on the part of the people.

1520 From Cuba, Velasquez sent Panfilo de Narvaez with eighteen ships and about twelve hundred soldiers to arrest Cortes. With the expedition went Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, sent by the audiencia to prevent if possible a fratricidal war. The fleet, which was the largest ever seen on the Mexican coast, arrived at San Juan de Ulua in April, 1520, and the news was quickly carried to Cortes. Leaving Pedro de Alvarado with about a hundred and fifty men to hold the Aztec capital, Cortes unhesitatingly marched with the other three hundred to meet his white pursuers. In a night attack, he carried everything before him, captured his wounded rival, and took possession of his fleet. Narvaez was soon released and returned to Spain. Most of his men enlisted under Cortes who, with his force thus multiplied, marched back, none too soon, to the relief of Alvarado, whom he found in his fortress besieged by an angry host of the barbarians. The Spaniards had interrupted the springtime festival with the massacre of six hundred Aztecs.

A Fire in the Rear

Hernando Cortes

June 24

Where wast thou then, sweet Charity, where then,
Thou tutelary god of friendless men?

A New Aztec Leader

On the error of Alvarado, Cortes put a blunder of his own; he released Montezuma's brother whom he had in captivity. The tribal council, acting wholly within its powers, promptly deposed Montezuma and elevated his brother to the chief command. With the leader came the crisis. Early the next morning, the Spaniards were attacked and many were killed or wounded. Spanish cannons swept the streets until the canals were red with Aztec blood, but all in vain. When, by the orders of Cortes, Montezuma went upon the roof to expostulate with the assailants, he was received with a shower of stones; the divinity that had hedged him round about

as priest and chief had vanished. A few days later, Montezuma died. On the evening of the following day, Cortes withdrew from the city, losing all his cannons, sixty of his eighty horses, four thousand of his six thousand Tlascalan allies, and more than seven hundred of his twelve hundred and fifty Spaniards. It was a night for tears and Cortes wept. A few days later, the defection of the Tlascalans was imminent, and the Aztecs attacked in almost overwhelming force. But Cortes won such a signal victory that the alliance was maintained. In evident recognition of the fact that this was the crucial moment that comes but once to any man, he manifested an energy and ability that would be thought remarkable in most commanders, but that was to be expected in Hernando Cortes. He promptly sent some of his fortunately won ships to Haiti for cannons, horses, and soldiers, made alliances with some of the smaller pueblos, and defeated those that resisted his overtures. By Christmas, he had gathered another well equipped army and reëstablished his reputation among a thousand Spanish followers and several thousand Indian adherents. Tezcuco was then detached from the Aztec confederacy and secured as an ally.

1520

June 30

Defeat, Tears, and Victory

Carta de relaciõ ẽbiada a su. S. majestad del ẽpa-
dor nro señor por el capitã general dela nueua spaña: llamado fernãdo cor
tes. Enla q̃l haze relaciõ d las tierras y prouincias sin cuẽto q̃ hã descubierto
nueuamẽte enel yucatã del año de. xix. a esta pte: y ha sometido ala corona
real de su. S. M. En especial haze relaciõ de vna grãdissima prouincia muy
rica llamada Culua: ẽla q̃l ay muy grãdes ciudades y de marauillosos edi-
ficios: y de grãdes tratos y riq̃zas. Entre las q̃les ay vna mas marauillosa
y rica q̃ todas llamada Timixtitã: q̃ esta por marauillosa arte edificada so
bre vna grãde laguna. dela q̃l ciudad y prouincia es rey vn grãdissimo señor
llamado Muteçuma: dõde le acaecierõ al capitã y alos españoles espãto-
sas cosas de oyr. Cuenta largamẽte del grãdissimo señorio del dicho Mu-
teçuma y de sus ritos y cerimonias. y de como se sirue.

Title-page of Cortes's Second Letter

On the twenty-eighth of April, 1521, the siege of the

1521 island capital was begun. For more than a hundred days there was no respite from the horrors of a struggle
The Siege of Mexico that, as both contestants knew, meant death for the loser. But each succeeding night found the streets of the doomed pueblo worse blocked with ruins and the canals worse choked with Aztec dead; each succeeding morning found the Spanish grip a little tighter. On the thirteenth of August, Tenochtitlan became a Spanish town, the city of Mexico. In 1523, Cortes was made governor. Guatemala, Honduras, and Yucatan were conquered. Expeditions were sent in various directions, the peninsula of Lower California was discovered, and the navigation of the Pacific was begun. New Spain was a reality and along more routes than one pushed itself into the present domain of the United States. The moral shame and military glory are set down in Prescott's classic work. Some of those pages depict the atrocities of a policy that "makes a savage of the civilized, and kindles the fires of hell in the bosom of the savage." Other pages tell of martial wonders that fill us with astonishment—events that have been said to be too startling for the probabilities demanded by fiction, and without a parallel in the pages of history.

Ponce de Leon Juan Ponce de Leon, who had bravely fought the Moors in Spain, sailed with Columbus on his second voyage, and in the western world again gave proof of his gallantry and skill. In 1509, he was made governor of Porto Rico. When it appeared that his commission was in conflict with the claims of Diego Columbus, it was revoked. Thus the romantic old knight was given leisure to lead in new exploits and to win enduring fame. He fed his fancy on the Indian story of the island of Bimini, that wonderland discussed for years in Spanish courts and western isles—romantic Bimini "in the which there is a continual spring of running water of such marvelous virtue that, the water thereof being drunk,
February 23, 1512 perhaps with some diet, maketh old men young." A royal grant authorized him "to proceed to discover and

settle the island of Bimini" within three years. If he succeeded, he was to be its governor for life. 1521

It is not certain whether the expedition started in 1512 or 1513. It is probable that, with three caravels fitted out at his own expense, the searching dreamer started from the port of San German in Porto Rico in March, 1513. The discoverers cast their anchors at San Salvador and furled their sails among the Bahamas, floating on the summer sea like men on pleasure bent, and touching "where the fruits were sweetest, the Indians most friendly, and their women loveliest." On Easter Sunday, they discovered the mainland, along which they coasted northward until the second of April when they landed. The Spanish name for Easter Sunday is *Pasqua Florida*, or "Feast of Flowers." The land of luxuriant beauty and magnolia blossoms seemed to merit the name and so Ponce called it Florida. The landing was probably made between the mouth of the Saint Johns River and the site of Saint Augustine.

Florida, March 27, 1513

From the point of disembarking the Spaniards sailed southward, exploring the coast, trading, fighting, but ever looking for the fabulous fountain. What a picture imagination paints as the water-cure was sought in the quiet lakes and stagnant rivers of that low-lying region! In spite of our philosophy, we awaken from our day-dream with a tinge of sadness. After doubling the cape, Ponce ran up the western shore of the peninsula and possibly followed the coast until it trended westward and beyond. In August, "they set sail homeward; but the ship commanded by Juan Perez de Ortubia, with Antonio de Alaminos as pilot, sailed [to search after Bimini] on the seventeenth of September." Ortubia soon followed Ponce back to Porto Rico with a report that the search for Bimini had proved successful. Although the explorations confirmed the Cosa and the Cantino maps and the knowledge of a northwestern continent that the Castilian pilots must have had, Florida was then and for years after considered a vast island in a

The Quest for the Fountain of Youth

1521 vast ocean that rolled on to Japan. As we soon shall see, this expedition was not a solitary effort. Similar ones went before and followed. "From a very early date, the Spaniards visited the east coast of Florida. The rapid depopulation of the West India Islands and the necessity for obtaining slaves to work in the mines must have prompted many such nefarious expeditions."

A Royal Grant of Bimini, September 27, 1514

Ponce soon sailed for Spain, claiming great credit for his discovery of so fair a land and seeking a new patent for its conquest and settlement. The king granted him authority to settle "the island of Bimini and the island of Florida." After subduing the Caribs, he was to have of the vessels and men thus employed what he wanted for his second expedition to Florida. But the Carib war was unexpectedly drawn out and the expedition for colonization did not take definite form until 1521.

Pineda's Exploration

Ponce de Leon had hardly returned from Florida when other Spaniards followed in his path, seeking Indian slaves. Thus, in 1516, Diego Miruelo sailed from Cuba on a trading cruise, ran up the western shore of Florida, and discovered a bay, probably Pensacola. In 1517, Francisco Hernandez de Cordova visited the coast as already narrated. By this time, many of the West Indian colonists had amassed sufficient wealth to become explorers or the patrons of explorers. In February or March, 1519, Francisco de Garay, the governor of Jamaica, sent three or four caravels to search for a strait in the mainland west of Florida. Alonso Alvarez de Pineda was in command. He sailed from Cape Florida (probably along the borders of the gulf) as far as the River Panuco, where he was met by the claims and actual possession of Cortes. Retracing his course, he discovered a river of great volume, the Rio del Espiritu Santo—probably the Mississippi, possibly the Alabama. Pineda was back at Jamaica by the middle of December. He had demonstrated the continuity of the coast; he had proved that there was no strait by which ships could reach Cipango and Cathay.

Garay at once asked for and received authority to con-

quer and to settle the territory that Pineda had found for him. The province was given the short-lived name of Amichel. In 1520, Garay sent Pineda and Diego de Camargo to occupy a post in his territory near Panuco. The expedition was ill-managed and unsuccessful. In 1523, he sailed in person with a powerful fleet and with Grijalva as his lieutenant. Several of the vessels were lost, and Garay surrendered the remnant of his force to Cortes. He died in Mexico and with him died Amichel. 1521 Garay and Amichel

On the tenth of February, 1521, Ponce de Leon wrote from Porto Rico to the emperor Charles V. saying that it was his intention "to explore the coast of said island [Florida] further, and see whether it is an island or whether it connects with the land where Diego Velasquez is, or any other; and I shall endeavor to learn all I can. I shall set out to pursue my voyage hence in five or six days." Another letter of the same date adds that the expedition was to consist of two ships. He sailed on the twentieth of February and effected a landing at some point on the coast of Florida, we do not know precisely where. He had a twofold purpose—geographical discovery and the founding of a settlement. With him were colonists, friars, horses, cattle, sheep, and swine. Ponce de Leon Renews his Quest

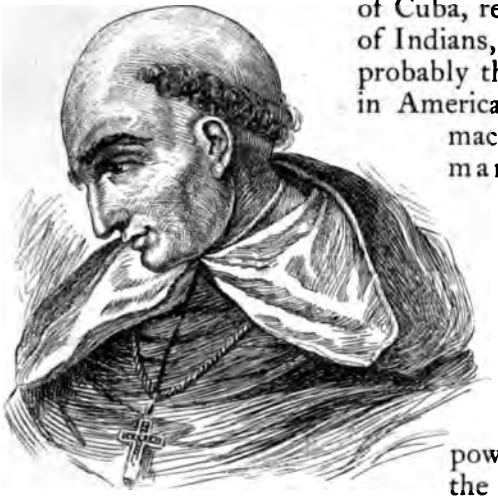
It is probable that several landings were made on the western border of the peninsula and that examination showed that they had not found a proper place for the projected settlement. After each such disappointment, they coasted northward. How far this coasting was continued is not certain. At some point, the Spaniards attempted to build houses and were attacked by the natives, who had been roused to active hostility by the marauding expeditions of Ayllon and earlier slave-hunters on the mainland. In leading his men against the assailants, Ponce was dangerously wounded. After losing many of his men by sickness and Indian arrows, the first territorial governor within the domain of the United States abandoned his attempt to plant a colony. The survivors reëmbarked. One of the Disappointment and Defeat

1521 ships went to Vera Cruz. The other sailed for Cuba where the wounded Ponce de Leon soon died. From Porto Rico to Florida and back to Cuba, the expedition occupied at least five months. In these later generations, thousands yearly make their pilgrimages to the flowery peninsula in a not less eager search for the magical fountain of health. There the pilgrim may find the rose running wild and the fig-tree in the jungle, not primeval as they seem but true historic memorials of a Spanish occupancy that antedates by a century the "Mayflower" and the first Virginia charter. On the island fringe of this narrow sun-bathed state, east of Cape Florida and in the embrace of the Bahamas, Bimini lingers even to this day.

Death of Ponce de Leon

The Good Las Casas

Bartolome de las Casas was born of a noble family at Seville in 1474. In 1502, he went to Haiti with Ovando. He was with Velasquez during the conquest of Cuba, received his encomienda of Indians, and became a curate—probably the first priest ordained in America. In business, diplomacy, and literature he manifested an unusual ability, but he is best remembered as a priest without fear or a selfish thought, a man tender and true, an administrator calm and shrewd, an overseer whom no earthly power could silence when the weak and wronged needed his protection. One of the glorious few who can follow a conviction, he soon recognized the evils of slavery and gave up his own slaves. From that time to the end of his long life, Las Casas stands out luminously in the heroism and glory of



Bartolome de las Casas

true sanctity—the only Spaniard of his age who does. 1521
Finding that the Spaniards in the Indies cared more for 1537
their slaves than for their souls, he went to Spain. Ferdinand was dead, and Ximenes, the great cardinal, was 1515
regent of Spain. In spite of Fonseca, the cardinal lent an ear to the curate's tale of Indian woe, and appointed him "Protector of the Indians" with considerable authority. After a year in Haiti, Las Casas returned to Spain to find his powerful ally on his death-bed. He was not long, however, in winning the favor of the young king, Charles V. In 1521, he planted on the Pearl Coast a colony that was to set a worthy example and serve as a center for the diffusion of a higher civilization. The outrages perpetrated by the colonists that Ojeda had led and sent to New Andalusia, had kindled the wrath of the natives against all Spaniards, and (in the fortunate absence of Las Casas) they burned the village of the white-robed colonists and left not a European on the Pearl Coast. In profound despondency, Las Casas meditated in the garden of the Dominican monastery at Santo Domingo, was persuaded by the brethren to join their order, and spent eight years in retirement. In 1530, he went to Spain.

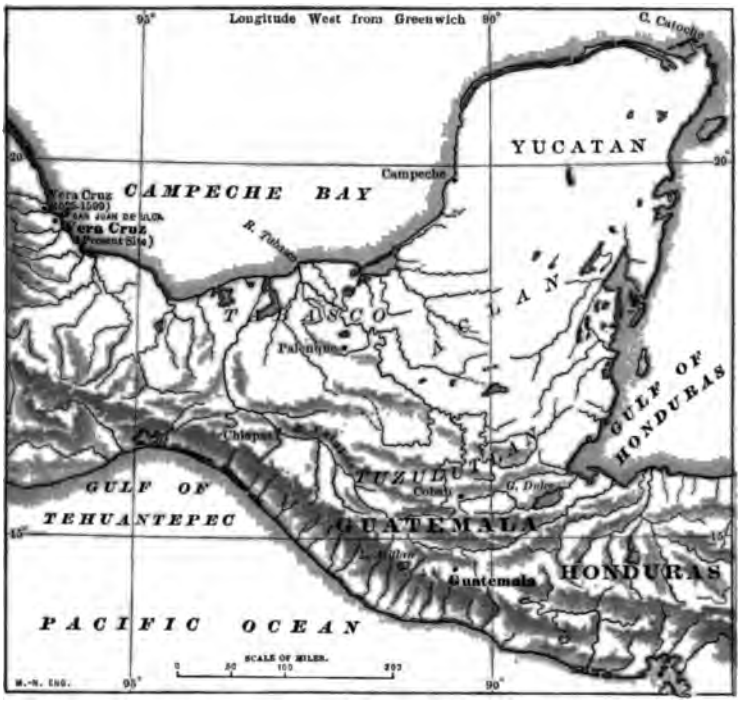
White Robes on the Pearl Coast

While in the monastery at Santo Domingo, Las Casas wrote a treatise to show that the only right way of bringing men to Christ is by reason and persuasion. After his return from Spain, he spent several years in curbing the cruelty of Alvarado, the new governor of Nicaragua, and then went to Guatemala to put his theories to the test of experiment. In 1536, with Luis de Barbastro and two other Dominican brethren, he devoted himself to a study of the native language and, in 1537, obtained from Maldonado, the temporary governor, a conditional agreement that the Indians of Tuzulutlan should not be given in encomienda. It was a wild and rough country from which the Spaniards had been three times driven back; good reason for the name they gave it—The Land of War. It was much like shooting against the sun, but Las Casas and his monks

The Gospel of Peace and the Land of War

1537 The Conquest of Kindness

hit the mark. By kindness, love, and wise diplomacy, the Indians were led to destroy their idols, to renounce cannibalism, and to promise to refrain from warfare except in defense of their country from invasion. In



Map of the Land of War

exchange for the promise of Las Casas that no Spaniard should set foot in his territory without the consent of the Dominicans, the cacique gave his allegiance to the Spanish monarch. When Las Casas returned to Guatemala with the cacique, Alvarado, who had been trained in Cortes's school and was now governor of the province, confirmed the treaty, removed his hat, and bowed his head in reverence before the hero of the peaceful victory. Mr. Fiske has pronounced this "one of the beautiful moments in history;" but the beauty was more than that of a moment, for the Land of War was crowned

with the blessings of enduring peace and became a center from which spread expanding circles of the gospel of charity and love. 1544

In 1539, Las Casas went to Spain. Of course, he had many powerful and bitter enemies. The reason for their opposition lies not deep below the surface of the story. Fortunately they were not equal to the zeal and ability of the apostle. Pope Paul III. had recently forbidden further Indian bondage, and Emperor Charles V. promulgated the "New Laws" that ordered "that henceforward, for no cause whatever, whether of war, rebellion, ransom, or in any other manner, can any Indian be made a slave." This stopped the spread of slavery, but the clause that provided for immediate abolition was subsequently compromised so that the result was a gradual emancipation. In a few years that the encomienda continued in any force, they were shorn of their worst features. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, long after the death of Las Casas, Indian slavery was blotted out—a triumph tardy but due altogether to a single life of heroism and benevolence. The New Laws 1542

After refusing a bishopric in Spain, Las Casas was made bishop of Chiapas, near Guatemala, to enforce the "New Laws." Mr. Fiske says that when he arrived upon the scene in 1544, it was much as if, in 1860, William Lloyd Garrison had secured from the United States government a decree of emancipation and then had gone to Charleston with authority to enforce it. "In any other than a Spanish community it might have gone hard with him, but the fiercest Spaniard would always be pretty sure to stop short of laying violent hands upon a prince of the church." In 1547, the "New Laws" were in danger and Las Casas, therefore, went back to Spain, his fourteenth and last passage of the Atlantic. For the remaining nineteen years of his life, he made his home in the Dominican college at Valladolid. After a bold controversy with Sepulveda, in which his assertion of the common rights of humanity for the Indians "expanded into a bold denial of the fundamental claims of ecclesi- The Monk Becomes a Bishop

1566 asticism" that brought him dangerously close to heresy and the inquisition, he published, in 1552, *The Destruction of the Indies*, written twelve years before. About 1560, he finished his *History of the Indies*, which, thirty years before, he had begun in the monastery at Santo Domingo. Partly because of the blunt statement of terrible truths, the book remained unprinted for more than three centuries. It was published in 1875.

The Writings of Las Casas

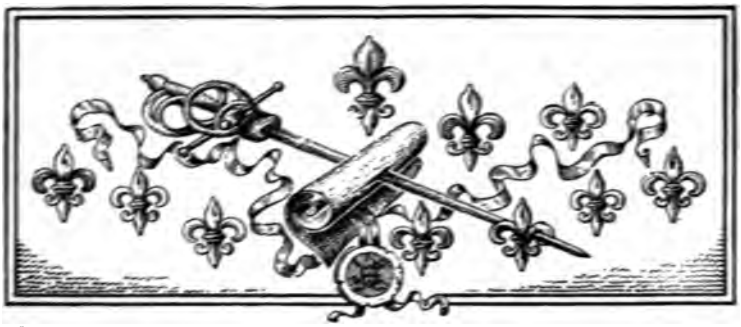
His Death

Las Casas died at Madrid in 1566, the anomaly rather than the product of his age and land.

Conflicting Estimates of the Man

The foregoing account of the "Protector of the Indians" conforms to the generally accepted verdict. But such a verdict may be altogether wrong, and, in this particular case, the unanimity of acquiescence is broken by a voice that speaks with much authority and that is entitled to a considerate hearing. Writing to the author of this book in 1904, Mr. Adolph F. A. Bandelier expressed his "conviction, based upon thirty years of documentary studies, and twenty-five years of practical study of the Indian in various parts of America," that no man in history "has been so unwarrantably praised or whose career has been so unjustifiedly distorted and misrepresented as Las Casas." While recognizing the bishop's purity of purpose and integrity of character, Mr. Bandelier looks upon him as an impulsive enthusiast, "who saw only one side of the question, and finally convinced himself that he was the only good and wise man and that everybody else was at least a scoundrel and a monster. . . . He failed everywhere and, as all dreamers do, he threw the blame on every one around him instead of looking for the primary cause of his failure in his own ignorance, rashness, and impatience. With age and growing discontent he became most unjust, and stopped at no exaggeration and no slander, all in the absolute and honest conviction that he was doing his duty and telling the pure truth. Las Casas has been judged heretofore exclusively from the standpoint of what he said of himself and what English writers, interested in picking flaws with Spain at any cost, began to propagate about him at

the time and later on." As fairly expressing the opinion more generally accepted by historians, it seems proper to quote, from the final paragraph of Mr. Fiske's sketch of Las Casas, these words: "The historian can only bow in reverent awe before a figure which is, in some respects, the most beautiful and sublime in the annals of Christianity since the apostolic age. When now and then, in the course of the centuries, God's providence brings such a life into this world, the memory of it must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions." 1566



CHAPTER XVIII

EAST COAST EXPLORATION

Ayllon

AT THIS time, little was known concerning the mainland north of Florida, but eagerness for the glory of discovery and the profits of colonization was common among the prosperous officials and other settlers in Espanola. Among these was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon who, in 1520, procured a license for exploration and, in 1521, sent out a ship in command of Francisco Gordillo. On the way, Gordillo met Pedro de Quexos in command of a caravel that had been sent out by Matienzo, one of Ayllon's official associates. Quexos, who was returning from an unsuccessful quest for Carib slaves, put his ship about and accompanied Gordillo in his exploration. Eight or nine days later, they reached the continental coast at the mouth of a considerable river to which, in accordance with the calendary custom of that period, they gave the name of Saint John the Baptist. The testimony is contradictory as to the latitude. It is probable that the landfall was made on the South Carolina coast at Georgetown Entrance. At the sight of white-winged ships the wondering natives crowded to the shore; at the sight of bearded men they fled in terror to the woods. The country was called Chicora, and possession of it was taken in the names of the patrons of the expedition and of the Spanish monarch. After the fears of the Chicoreans wore away, the Spaniards were received with hospitality. After the exchange of gifts and other courtesies,

June 24, 1521

a feast was served on board the ships and the natives were made drunken with much wine. The hatches were quickly closed, sails were set, and the captive guests were carried off as slaves. One of the ships foundered at sea, carrying Christian and heathen to a common grave. On the other caravel many sickened and died. At Haiti, Ayllon disavowed his agent's acts, and a commission presided over by Diego Columbus ordered the restoration of the kidnapped barbarians to their native land. 1521 1526 The Rape of the Chicoreans

With Francisco, one of the captured Chicoreans, Ayllon went to Spain and obtained royal letters patent for further exploration, and an order on Matienzo for the Indians in his hands that he might restore them to their native land. He was to run eight hundred leagues along the coast, and to explore any strait that he found leading to the west. The Indians were to be Christianized and their enslavement was forbidden. Ayllon returned to the West Indies and, early in 1525, sent Quexos northward with two caravels. Quexos explored the coast for two hundred and fifty leagues and returned in August with a few Indians to be trained as interpreters. In the meantime, Matienzo had begun suit to vacate Ayllon's patent on the ground that it was in prejudice of the plaintiff's rights as joint discoverer. The testimony brought out in this action is one of the very few sources of information concerning these explorations. Ayllon's Patent, June 12, 1523

In spite of delays and losses consequent upon litigation, Ayllon sailed in June or July, 1526, to colonize the territory granted to him. The migrants landed at a river to which they gave the name of Jordan, a few miles north of the Saint John the Baptist. Here Francisco Chicora, the Indian guide, deserted and a brigantine was wrecked. The wrecked vessel was replaced by another—the first ship-building on our coast. The country proved to be unfavorable and the colonists moved on. The account is by no means satisfactory, but the party probably worked northward. They at last arrived at a country called Guandape and began a settle- Ayllon's Colony

1521 ment called San Miguel. Most of the land was swampy
1526 and many of the colonists, including Ayllon, fell sick
San Miguel and died. Before the negro slaves had completed the houses for the shelter of the colonists who had brought them from the islands, winter came on and some of the men perished of cold. A rebellious faction seized Francisco Gomez, the temporary governor, oppressed the negroes, and provoked the Indians to hostility. Finally the deposed administration was restored, and the leader of the revolutionists was wounded, captured, tried, and executed. Resolved to abandon San Miguel de Guandape, the colonists set sail. The tender that bore the corpse of Ayllon foundered. Of the six hundred who had sailed from Haiti, not more than one in four returned. Such were the stormy beginnings of negro slavery in the territory of the United States. The site of San Miguel has not been definitely determined. Harrisse thinks that it was on the Cape Fear River below Wilmington, while Shea, Wilson, Fiske, and others assert that it was where, in the next century, the English founded Jamestown.

Fagundes By letters patent dated on the thirteenth of March, 1521, the king of Portugal conveyed to Alvarez Fagundes certain isles and lands which he claimed to have found on the northeast coast of the New World. The meaning of some parts of the patent is rather obscure, but it is probable that the lands granted consisted chiefly of Nova Scotia, together with Cape Breton Island which was then supposed to be connected with it, and several other islands of doubtful identification. This Portuguese attempt at colonizing Nova Scotia did not prove profitable and was probably abandoned at an early date. Mr. Harrisse thinks that Fagundes sailed round the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, and ranged the east coast of Nova Scotia where he planted the unthrifty colony of which no vestiges remain. Thus the Portuguese as well as the English passed by the entrance of the Saint Lawrence without discovering that great waterway.

As early as 1504, the hardy mariners of Normandy and Brittany had followed Cabot and the Cortereals across the ocean and were making clear the way for others to place the corner-stones of "New France." But they were a simple people, caring more for fish than corner-stones. They knew nothing of cosmography or statesmanship, and so they simply left the name "Cape Breton" for a monument — and kept on with their daily work. But their monarch had higher aspirations. Giovanni (John) da Verrazano was born in Florence about 1480. In 1521, under the alias of Juan Florin or Florentin, he appeared in Spanish history as a French corsair and, in 1523, captured the wrested treasure sent home by Cortes and brought it safely into La Rochelle. This exploit seems to have won him both the notice and favor of the energetic Francis I. of France, who manifested little reverence for Pope Alexander and his bulls and met them with an epigram as Henry VII. of England did with cold indifference. King Francis wrote to his great rival, Charles V., asking by what right he and the king of Portugal assumed to own the earth. Had Father Adam made them his sole heirs and would he produce a copy of the will? Until this was done, the French monarch would feel at liberty to take all that he could get. Doubts as to the identity of Juan Florin hover over the interesting story, and able writers have contradicted all of the claims made in Verrazano's name. But the claims are generally admitted.

1523

French Fishermen

Verrazano

Late in 1523, with four ships and under royal auspices, Verrazano sailed from Brittany. In a storm, most of the ships were lost or disabled, and the voyage was made with only one. About the middle of January, 1524, the "Dauphine" left the Madeiras with fifty men and eight months' provisions. According to the papal bulls of 1493, they were on forbidden ground, and as the agent of the king of France, Verrazano was in danger of his life wherever the flag of Spain floated. He, therefore, sailed due west until he sighted land.

Verrazano's Voyage

1524 In fifty days, he made his landfall on the Carolina coast, near Cape Fear. After coasting southward for fifty leagues searching for a harbor, he turned toward the north, skirting the shore and making frequent landings. One day, an exploring party found two women and several children hiding in the tall grass. With Gallic gallantry, the white men tried to tempt with presents and then to kidnap the younger woman. When they failed in this, they carried off a native boy and thus sowed the seeds of Indian hatred for Ralegh to reap.

March 12, 1524, O. S.

At New York

Coasting toward the northeast, they came to a beautiful place where, between steep hills, a great river poured its waters into the sea. Passing through "The Narrows," they entered what seemed to be a lake, the harbor of New York. Thence they coasted eastward, discovering Block Island. In the harbor of Newport, where, like Leif the Lucky, Verrazano was delighted with everything he saw and where the natives were still kind and trusting, Verrazano lingered for a fortnight.

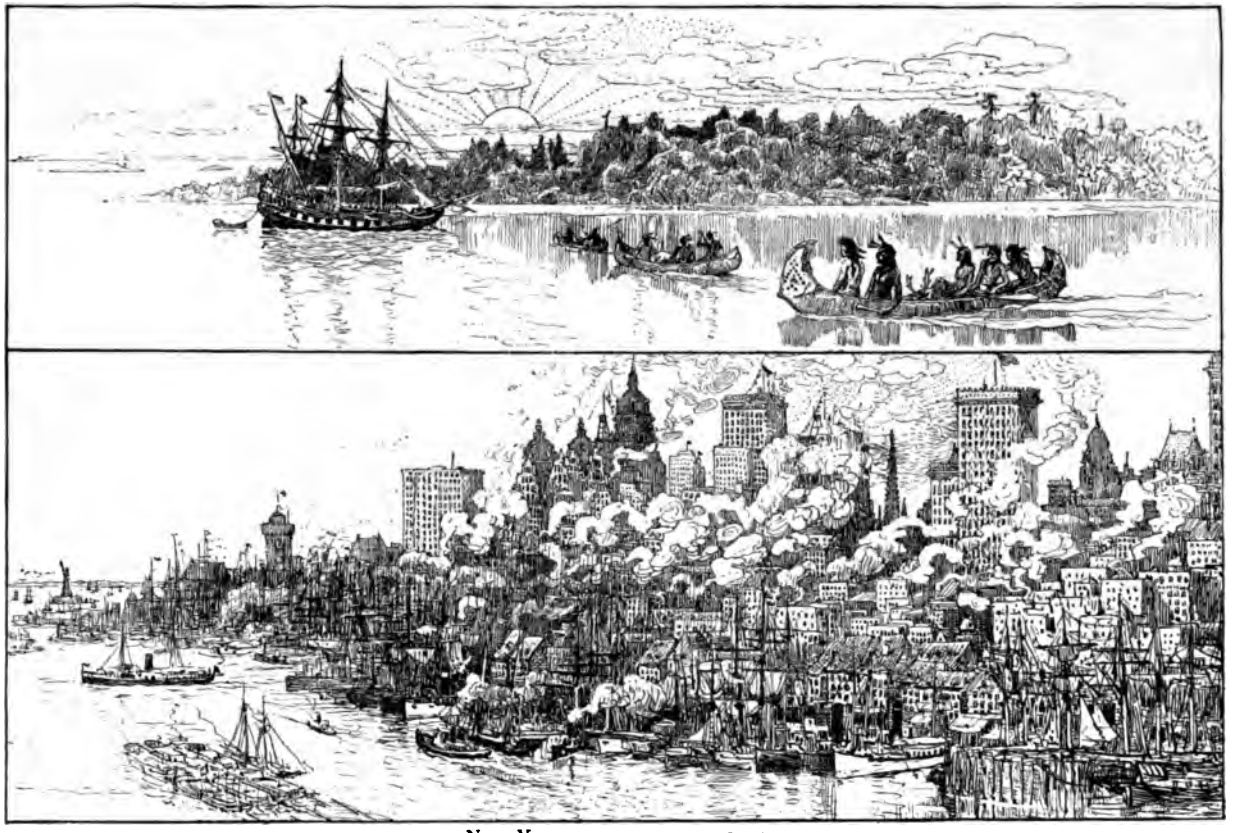
At Newport

From Marblehead to Newfoundland

The next landing was made somewhere north of Boston. The Frenchmen found the climate colder, the forests denser, and the Indians more rude and wisely distant. When the white men sought to traffic, the natives let down their furs and provisions from the rocks; when they tried to land, their reception was more vigorous than amiable. After making up his mind that "these poor creatures had no sense of religion," Verrazano sailed northeast, enjoying the scenery of the White Mountains in the distance and spending an early summer vacation among the islands off the coast of "Norumbega." He reached the latitude of fifty degrees north and, early in July, 1524, returned to France.

Verrazano's Narrative

It is not evident that Verrazano did more than Cabot and Cortereal had previously done, excepting in the important item of writing his narrative. He left the earliest known description of nearly the whole Atlantic seaboard of the United States, "a simple, plain, and modest attempt to state in general terms what the navigator observed in passing along the coast of a new and



New York in 1524 and in 1904

1524 unexplored country." At the time of his return, the French king was too busy fighting battles with Emperor Charles V. to profit much from the offered opportunity to colonize a new world. Of the later life of Verrazano we know little that is certain. If we must believe all that has been printed, he made another voyage in 1526, was captured by the Spaniards and hanged as a pirate in 1527, was killed and eaten roasted by the savages in the same year, and was still alive in the "Eternal City" in 1537. "Somewhat the same shadowy uncertainty still attaches to his reputation." It is worthy of notice that, while Italy gave Columbus to Spain, Cabot to England, Vespucius to Portugal, and Verrazano to France, she never possessed in her own name a rood of American soil.

His Fate

Giovanni da Verrazano

The Elusive Strait

October 15, 1524

Though, like the will-o'-the-wisp, the northwest passage to Cathay eluded every seeker, navigators still searched for it by day and monarchs dreamed of it by night. Even Cortes paused on the high wave of his glorious infamy to propose to Charles V. simultaneous voyages along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts to find an easier passage than that opened by Magellan. No geographical puzzle ever proved more persistent. In 1822, Jedidiah Morse, theologian, traveler, and geographer, submitted to the secretary of war of the United States a report accompanied by a map upon which was laid down a river coming from the interior to the Bay of San Francisco and bearing this legend: "Supposed river between the Buenaventura and the Bay of Francisco which will probably be the communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific." Stranger still is this statement printed in 1846 in Monette's *History of the Valley of the Mississippi:* "To the disappointment of

the commercial world, this [transcontinental] route still remains as much unknown as it was two hundred years ago, and such it will remain until it is opened by the way of the Oregon River or the Bay of California." We need, therefore, little wonder that the king of Spain and emperor of Germany should take advice such as Cortes offered. 1524

Gomez

After the Easter Sunday mutiny that Magellan had put down, and after that hardy navigator had declared that he would go on "if he had to eat the leather off the ship's yards," Estevan (Stephen) Gomez had deserted his commander and sailed the "San Antonio" back to Spain. In spite of this unsavory record, he, late in 1524 or early in 1525, and at the expense of the Spanish crown, fitted out a caravel and sailed to see if there was a channel north of Florida by which vessels might reach the East. He probably landed at Newfoundland or on the Labrador coast, ran his ship into the Gulf of St. Lawrence with a hope of finding an entrance to the hypothetical strait, and then explored as far as Florida. From Florida, he sailed by way of Santiago in Cuba to Corunna in Spain, whence he had departed ten months or so before. No detailed account of the voyage is known, but the meager information that we have has been preserved for centuries by the flavor of "a little story." Gomez told an eager questioner that his ship was laden with *esclavos* (i.e., "slaves"). The zealous newsmonger hastened to the court with the news that Gomez had brought back a cargo of *clavos* (i.e., "cloves"). From this it was thought that Gomez had hit success and found his way to the Spice Islands. This was the end of Spanish voyages to the north.

CHAPTER XIX

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS

The Verrazano Sea

THE Atlantic border of America had been traced from Tierra del Fuego to the Labrador coast; the new continent lay like a bar across the ocean way from Europe to Asia. But the maps of that period persistently pictured the extreme slimness of parts of the North American mainland, and for more than a hundred years navigators continued to scan the shore and to sail into the mouths of great rivers with a hope of finding some open route into the western ocean. In 1529, a map made to represent the discoveries of Verrazano showed north of Florida a slender isthmus the western shore of which was washed by what came to be commonly known as the Sea of Verrazano. As late as 1548, Gastaldi's "Carta Marina" showed Mexico and Florida as parts of Asia with the Verrazano Sea washing the shores of an "Upper India." The map that Michael Lok made for Sir Philip Sidney in 1582 still showed the Verrazano Sea narrowing the continent between Florida and Maine. Such erroneous ideas could be corrected only by expeditions into the interior of the continent.

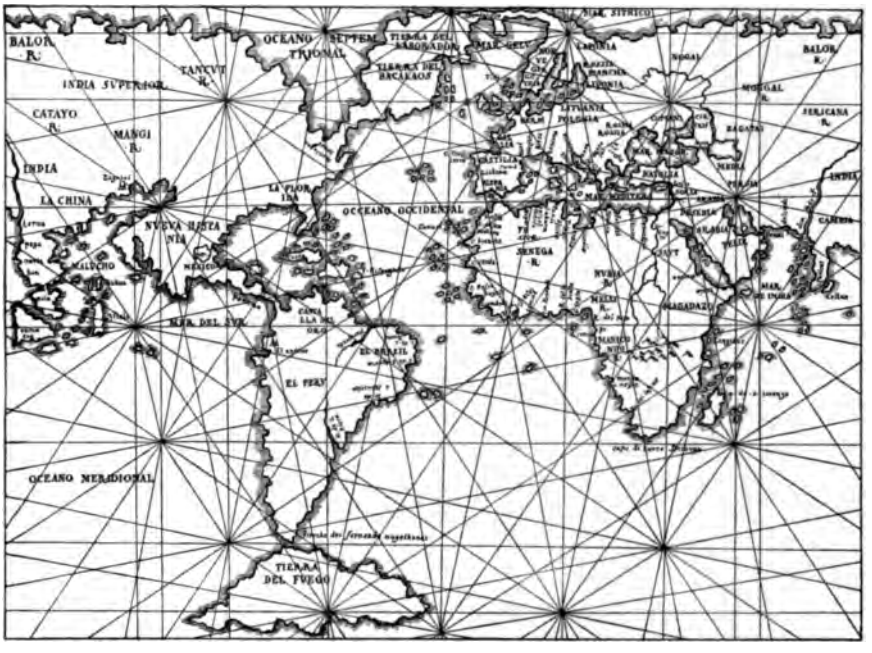
Narvaez

1526

After Panfilo de Narvaez and his army had been ingloriously defeated by Cortes and his handful, the unskilful adventurer secured a commission from Charles V. to explore and conquer Florida, a territory that extended westward as far as Texas. In the following year, with five ships and six hundred men, including

many of wealth and gentle birth as well as mechanics, laborers, and Franciscan friars, he sailed from Spain. The expedition is memorable only for the sufferings of

1528 June 17, 1527



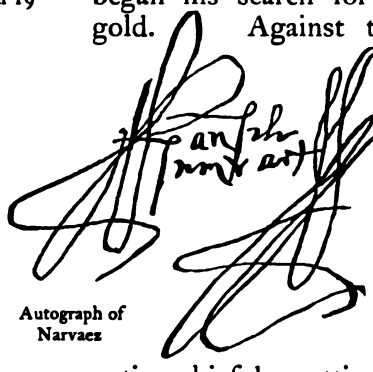
The Carta Marina of 1548

those who died and the rare adventures of the few survivors. The treasurer of the expedition was Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca.

Error and Cruelty

The winter was spent in the West Indies. In March, 1528, the fleet sailed from Cuba and was storm-driven upon the Florida coast. In April, it was in the Bahia de la Cruz, which has been variously identified as Charlotte Harbor, Tampa Bay, and Apalachee Bay. The winter's losses had reduced the expedition to four ships, fewer than four hundred men, and eighty horses. Narvaez landed most of his men, and, with the usual formula, took possession of the country. Sadly misled by incompetent pilots, he thought he was near Mexico. He, therefore, sent his brigantine to Panuco. The

1528 remaining ships were to follow the coast and to meet him at an uncertain rendezvous. With a force of three hundred men, of whom forty were mounted, he
April 19 began his search for Apalache, a city of plenty and of gold. Against this project Cabeza de Vaca earnestly protested, certain that he "would never more find the ships nor the ships him." In a little Indian village, Narvaez found some Indian mummies, probably the remains of ancestors or caciques. Zealous to rebuke idolatry, he burned the bodies of the dead and thus fired the hearts of the living. He mutilated a native chief by cutting off his nose and set Cuban bloodhounds to tear in pieces the mother of a cacique in the presence of her children. The natives needed not many such lessons.



Autograph of Narvaez

Disappointment Then began a disastrous march through "the floating peninsula." Wearied and harassed by relentless foes, the Spaniards saved themselves from starvation by feeding on the weakened bodies of their own starving horses — a pitiable band in unromantic plight. On the twenty-fifth of June, they arrived at Apalache only to find that the populous city of their imagination, with its palaces of caciques and magnificent courts in which they might luxuriously riot, was but a dream. They found a hamlet of forty hovels and the realities of bitter disappointment. They took the village without resistance and with it sadly needed food.

Retribution With fatalistic desire to awe the Indians by a spirited policy, Narvaez seized their cacique and held him a hostage as Cortes had held Montezuma. Hardly was the daily growing weight of armor laid from the Spaniards' weary backs, when the angered Indians made a fierce attack and burned their own dwellings. The Spaniards had not to face a Moscow winter, and so they lingered several weeks searching the country round about

for gold. At last, perishing with hunger, weakened by fierce attacks, and undeceived as to their hopes of sudden wealth, they took up their march for the coast. With great suffering they forced their way through tangled vines and bristling brambles, through deep lagoons and gloomy forests, ever exposed to the flight of avenging arrows, and in a fortnight reached the sea, probably near the mouth of the Apalachicola River. 1528 July 31

Boat-building

Weak, sick, and hungry, they threw themselves upon the hot sands of the beach. Behind them was their savage foe; before them was the ocean—unrelenting, but their only hope. Where were their ships? Vanished all their fond dreams of wealth and dominion, their only thought was how to save their lives. Boats they must have, and these they "knew not how to construct, nor were there tools, nor iron, nor forge, nor tow, nor resin, nor rigging; . . . nor any man who had knowledge of their manufacture." They killed their horses for food, gathered shell-fish from the beach, and plundered maize from the Indians. They made a bellows of reeds and skins, and beat their crossbows and useless spurs and stirrups and what they had of iron into axes, saws, and nails. In a few weeks, they built five boats each thirty feet in length; calked them with the fibrous bark of the palmetto pitched with rosin from the pine; twisted cordage of horsehair and palmetto; shaped rude oars and made sails of shirts, and water-flasks of half-tanned skins from horses' legs. In honor of their equine dead and of the sole survivor, they named the place Bahia de Caballos, which is to say, the Bay of Horses.

Shipwreck

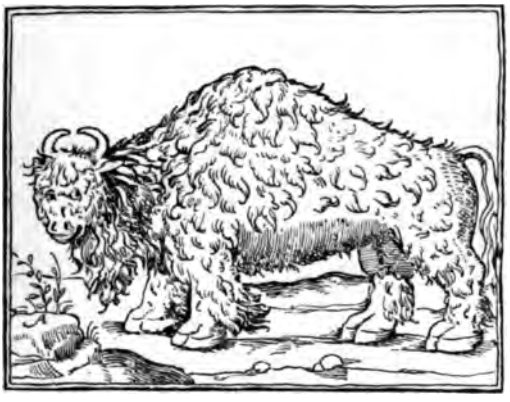
September 22

They crowded the two hundred and fifty spared Spaniards into these five frail boats, loading each until there was but a hand's-breadth strip between water-line and gunwale. Not one of them knew anything of navigation or the coast. Cautiously working westward, they endured a month of cold, thirst, and hunger, savage foes upon the land and dreaded storms upon the sea. On the thirty-first of October, they came to a

1528 river, probably the Mississippi. Its current was too
1536 rapid for the clumsy craft. The boat that bore the governor was driven out to sea and lost. Some of the other boats were cast on the coast of western Louisiana or eastern Texas. All but four of the men soon died. It is said that, failing to find the harbor of rendezvous as alleged by the pilots, the ships that Narvaez had sent ahead cruised for nearly a year along the coast but found no trace of the unfortunates.

The Cabeza Quartet

The four survivors, Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo, and a negro slave called Estevanico (i.e., Little Stephen), spent nearly six years in Indian captivity of varying severity. It is probable that they were the first European observers of the "hunch-backed cows" (i.e., bison or buffalo) that in vast herds roamed the American plains. They became familiar with the language and habits of the natives, and Cabeza acquired a helpful reputation as a potent "medicine-man." The four unfortunates at last came together on the coast of eastern Texas. In 1534, Cabeza, as self-possessed a hero as ever graced a fiction, led his three companions in escape.



The Earliest Known Engraving of the Buffalo

From Sea to Sea

Traveling as medicine-men, they slowly shifted from tribe to tribe, always toward the sunset. They thus traversed the south Texan country, and crossed the Rio Grande not far from the mouth of the Rio Conchos, enduring hunger, thirst, and fatigue, the summer's heat and winter's cold, and escaping all dangers from men and beasts. On the twelfth of May, 1536, they arrived at Culiacan in the Mexican province of Sinaloa. Here

they found some of their countrymen by whom they were kindly received and escorted to the city of Mexico. They had crossed North America from the Florida peninsula to the Gulf of California—the pioneer path-finders of the continent. 1537 1538

In 1531, Pizarro sailed from Panama to overcome the inca and to wrest from him golden pesos by the million. It is not within our province to recite the romantic story of the blood-stained conquest of Peru. About the time that Cabeza de Vaca returned in poverty from Mexico, there came in wealth from Pizarro's school one who had entered it with nothing but blade and buckler. Hernando de Soto had shared in the rich ransom vainly paid by the inca. His appearance in Spain was magnificent and gorgeous, his reception was a continued triumph. He was elegant in person, courtly in deportment, and in the prime of young manhood. He won a wife of noble birth, and received from Charles V. a commission that made him governor of Cuba, with authority to conquer and occupy the ill-defined country set forth in the patent of Narvaez. De Soto

Hernando de Soto

April 20, 1537

From the offering multitude, De Soto chose six hundred or more of the flower of the Peninsula. To the muster at San Lucar Spaniards came "in doublets and cassocks of silk, pinckt and embroidered;" while, with better understanding, the Portuguese were in the equipage of soldiers in neat armor. In April, 1538, De Soto sailed, no longer a subaltern but adventurer-in-chief. He had soldiers, horses, and bloodhounds for conquest, mechanics and material for colonization, and priests with sacerdotal paraphernalia for the Christianization of the natives. Everything that

His Expedition

1538 1539 experience in invasion could suggest was provided, even to chains for captives and a drove of hogs. The force was greater than that with which Cortes and Pizarro had conquered.

Contemporary Narratives

For the history of this expedition, we have four original authorities: the brief report of Biedma, an officer of the expedition; the narrative of the anonymous Portuguese cavalier commonly known as the Gentleman of Elvas; the exaggerated narrative of Garcilaso (not an eye-witness of what he describes); and an unfinished report by Ranjel, the secretary of the expedition. This fourth narrative was not published until 1851 and, as it has never been translated from the Spanish, it has been overlooked by most of the commentators. The history of the expedition, so far as its route lay in the country of the Cherokee Indians, was recently reëxamined (in the light of personal study of the geography and ethnology of the country traversed) by Mr. James Mooney of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology. For that part of the story, Mr. Mooney's conclusions are herein accepted as the latest and best authority on the subject.

Title-page of the "Gentleman of Elvas" Relation (Reduced)

De Soto in Florida

After a year of festivity and preparation, De Soto sailed from Havana on the eighteenth of May, 1539. Before the end of the month, he landed his troops on the Florida coast at Tampa Bay, and sent his ships back lest they should tempt to a retreat. The conquest of Florida was to be begun. A few days after beginning their march, the Spaniards were surprised by a Castilian voice from a savage form: "Do

not kill me, cavalier, I am a Christian; do not slay these people, they have given me my life." It was the voice of Juan Ortiz, a survivor of the Narvaez expedition, made almost savage by long Indian captivity. Ortiz proved a godsend to De Soto, for the seized Indian guides and interpreters deserted at the first opportunity. In the same month of May, Fray Marcos entered the wilderness of Arizona from the southwest. 1539

The First Season's Exploration

De Soto's advance was opposed at every step. His prisoners were put to death or forced to march in literal bondage, with iron collars about their necks and bearing

Map of De Soto's Route

heavy burdens. The Spanish "governor was very fond of the sport of killing Indians," but the captive guides would mislead in spite of bloodhounds' fangs

1540 and certain death. The first season's explorations continued from June to October. The winter was spent in the Apalache country, near the place where Narvaez built his boats. The men were discouraged, but De Soto turned a deaf ear to their pleadings for return. He sent twenty female slaves to Dona Isabella at Havana, and ordered supplies forwarded in the following year to Pensacola Harbor, which an exploring party had discovered. Hearing of rich realms to the northeast, he left his winter quarters in early March of 1540.

On the Savannah

On their way through eastern Georgia, the Spaniards heard of Coça, a rich province toward the northwest, the territory of the Coosa or Creek Indians. At Cofitachiqui, an important Indian town on the Savannah below the site of Augusta, De Soto found a magnificence that hinted at the wealth for which he sought. To meet the invaders, the Indian "queen" of that region came in something of royal state and with rich gifts of shawls and skins and pearls. Here were found hatchets and other objects of copper, some of which appeared to be mixed with gold. De Soto was told that the metal came from an interior mountain province called Chisca, the way to which was impassable for horses. At this place, about two days' journey by canoe from the sea, the natives showed articles of European manufacture, which they said were obtained from white men who had entered the mouth of the river many years before. The Spaniards conjectured that these white men were the companions of Ayllon in 1520 or 1524. The soldiers wished to settle here whence Cuba was easily accessible, but their commander would make no settlement until he had found a rival for Peru.

An Indian "Queen"

As men and horses were nearly worn out by hunger and travel, De Soto resolved to go to Chiaha, the nearest town of the fertile Coça province, and there to rest before attempting the passage of the mountains that blocked his way to the mines of Chisca. The cacica had been so angered by the conduct of the Spaniards

that she refused to furnish guides and carriers, where- 1540
upon De Soto made her his prisoner, intending to hold her as a hostage and to compel her to lead the way. The royal guide did not take the direct trail westward to Chiaha, but led her captors far out of their course. She soon made her escape, taking the box of pearls with her and leaving the Spaniards to find their own way out of the mountains.

Among the Mountains

A few days' march northward from Cofitachiqui, they came to a province called Chalaque, the territory of the Cherokee Indians. Northward still, they came to the province of Xuala, which Mr. Mooney places in the piedmont region about the head-waters of the Broad and Catawba rivers in North Carolina. Here the Spaniards found greater indications of gold-mines than any they had yet seen. Turning toward the west, they crossed a high mountain range (probably the main chain of the Blue Ridge), on the other side of which they came to a stream that flowed in the opposite direction from those previously encountered. It is probable that this was one of the upper tributaries of the French Broad River. For some time, the Indians had been hospitable, supplying the strangers with large numbers of dogs and wild turkeys for food.

At Guaxule

About the end of May, the Spaniards were at Guaxule, which is described as a large town surrounded by small mountain streams that united to form the large river down which they marched after having left the town. Mr. Mooney locates Guaxule at the Nacoochee Mound in White County, Georgia, and identifies the large river as the Chattahoochee. Proceeding down the river from Guaxule, the Spaniards were met by messengers who escorted them to Chiaha, in the province of Coça.

At Chiaha

According to our latest authority, De Soto was now in the neighborhood of the modern city of Columbus, Georgia. Earlier writers have generally run the route down the Coosa, and placed Chiaha at the Rome that stands at the confluence of that river and the Etowah. At Chiaha, De Soto remained a month for needed rest

1540 for man and beast. As an Indian chief confirmed what he had heard of mines, he sent two soldiers on foot with Indian guides to find Chisca and to learn the truth of the stories. After the army had left Chiaha, the explorers rejoined their companions. The accounts of the reports that they brought are contradictory, but De Soto had spent a month among the mountains and made no further effort to find the Cherokee mines. It is now known that native copper is found throughout the whole southern Allegheny region; the other "metal" of which the Spaniards heard may have been gold and it may have been pyrites.

War Clouds

At the end of June, the march was resumed. For the sport of Castilian chivalry, Indian prisoners were used as targets, and the messenger who brought unpleasant tidings had his hands chopped off and was sent back to his dusky people with his bleeding arms as the adelantado's answer. De Soto was an "inflexible man and few of words," and by necessity all around him "condescended to his will." He piled the wrongs of his absent Isabella upon the outrage of comely Indian maidens, and his soldiers followed his example. From hilltop to valley the smoky torch telegraphed the signal for unrelenting war.

The Black Warrior

Late in July, De Soto was in the fertile valley of the Coosa. He soon made a prisoner of the gigantic chief Tuscaloosa, otherwise the "Black Warrior," and marched southward to Mavila, where the hostage chieftain had promised that provisions should be ready. Mavila was a palisaded village on the Alabama, about twenty-five miles above the confluence of that river with the Tombigbee. The Black Warrior had been sending frequent messengers ahead, ostensibly with orders relating to the proper reception of his distinguished visitors. De Soto entered Mavila with the cacique and a few Spaniards in advance of the invading army. The village was strongly garrisoned and De Soto had been led into an ambuscade. The insolence of an Indian chief brought the first blow. A Spaniard cleft the chief

from head to loins and thus cut loose barbarian fury. 1540
From crowded houses, the Indians rushed like swarming bees. De Soto was wounded before he could rejoin his troops. The battle raged for nine long hours, but naked savages were no match for Spaniards clad in armor. According to the probably exaggerated Spanish estimate, twenty-five hundred Indians perished by the sword or in the smoke and flames of their burning dwellings. The Spanish loss was twenty soldiers killed and a hundred and fifty wounded, many killed and wounded horses, and the more serious loss by fire of all the baggage, including the chalices and vestments of the clergy. It was one of the bloodiest battles ever waged between red men and white men in North America.

The Battle at Mavila

A Palisaded Indian Village

The explorers lingered here a month. Distant only six days' march was Pensacola, where lay the ships with needed supplies. Fearing wholesale desertions, De Soto concealed the fact from his men. He would not even send any word back to Cuba, for he had nothing to tell but a story of disappointment and misfortune. Even his gathered pearls had been lost in the fiery devastation at Mavila. In the middle of November, he turned his back upon his ships and led his five hundred into the interior. He fought his way through populous and

From the Alabama to the Yazoo

1540 hostile tribes into Mississippi and December storms,
1542 and went into winter quarters at the Chickasaw village on
December 17, 1540 the west bank of the upper Yazoo. One night in March, the Chickasaw cacique made a furious attack. The unarmored Spaniards, startled from their sleep, rushed from their burning huts and valiantly drove back their fierce assailants. One red man and eleven whites were killed. Much of what was saved at Mavila was lost here; clothing, saddles, weapons, fifty horses, and four hundred hogs. As best they could they renewed their fighting form; "forges were erected, swords newly tempered, and good ashen lances made equal to the best of Biscay." Clothing was made of skins and blankets of dried grass. The Indians came again as soon as the Spaniards were ready to receive them.

Discovery of the Mississippi

Late in April, 1541, the search for gold was renewed. It took a month to build the boats needed for the crossing of the Mississippi. By the end of May, they were finished; and without opposition the Spaniards crossed the river at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs, near the boundary line between the states of Tennessee and Mississippi where a county now bears De Soto's name. Still seeking the ever-receding El Dorado, the Spaniards waded through Arkansas swamps, climbed the Ozark Hills, and probably made trial of the virtues of the hot springs. What the route was and where the Spaniards rested we do not know. The winter was severe; the suffering was terrible. Even De Soto became discouraged, and resolved to seek the gulf and to send to Cuba and New Spain for aid.

The Death of De Soto

On the seventeenth of April, 1542, De Soto was at the mouth of the Red River. Here he was overtaken by a fatal fever and, after appointing Luis de Moscoso as his successor, died on the twenty-first of May. He who had shared the inca's ransom and dazzled Spain with wealth and fame, left—in Havana, a widow; along his path, the bleaching bones of two hundred and fifty followers; on the banks of the Father of Waters, five Indian slaves, three horses, and a herd of swine.

Around his body gathered weary and half-naked veterans with splintered lances and jagged swords and broken helmets — a sorry remnant of the brilliant retinue that five years before had mustered at San Lucar. Wrapped in mantles weighted with sand, his body was buried, "with all possible silence," at midnight in the middle of the stream. 1542 1546

Moscoso and the remnant decided to go to Mexico. They deemed it less dangerous to go by land, and thought to take the chances of finding an El Dorado on the way. Led by this vague rumor or that slender hope, they wandered to and fro all that year. They heard of other Christians roaming in those parts, doubtless Coronado and his men who, in 1541, had entered the valley of the Mississippi from the west. In December, they were again on the banks of the Mississippi. They struck the fetters from their slaves and, adding to them their stirrups and every iron scrap, forged all into nails. As Narvaez had done, they built boats as best they could. They killed their hogs and horses, and to the dried flesh added maize plundered from the natives. Early in July, they cast loose their moorings. On the eighteenth of July, 1543, their fleet floated in salt water. Wearily working their way along the Louisiana and Texas coast, a pitiable three hundred and eleven, they reached the Spanish colony at Panuco on the tenth of September, 1543. The Sorry End

In 1546, the Spaniards, anxious and determined to hold Florida in some way, undertook a "new departure." Several Dominican friars, under the lead of Father Luis de Barbastro, who had nobly served with Las Casas in Tuzulutlan, entered upon a mission without arms or soldiers. They took with them from Havana an Indian woman, Magdalen, a Christianized native of Florida. Magdalen seems to have backslidden from the faith and the missionary priests were killed — an unfortunate beginning for the policy that had sprung from the lessons of Las Casas. Barbastro

1559 1561 De Luna

On the eleventh of June, 1559, Don Tristan de Luna sailed from Vera Cruz for Florida with fifteen hundred soldiers, with colonists, their wives and children, and provisions for a year. They landed, early in July, first at Pensacola and then at Santa Rosa Bay. A hurricane destroyed several ships, many men, and most of the stores. The Spaniards would not cultivate the soil, and starvation came ahead of fresh supplies.

In the course of his wanderings, De Luna traversed the country of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Upper Creeks, as is shown by the names and other data in the narrative. He probably got no further east than the Alabama River (about Montgomery) and returned without entering the mountains. The often printed statement that the summer of 1560 was spent in an eager quest for gold in northern Georgia, and that ascribes to De Luna's party certain traces of ancient mining operations in the Cherokee country, and particularly on Valley River in North Carolina, is now known to be incorrect. In 1560, a succession of unfortunate events forced an abandonment of this attempt to establish a permanent Spanish settlement in the interior. With growing wisdom the Indians forsook their fields, destroyed their towns, and carried off their provisions. Mutiny arose, and Tristan de Luna was abandoned. With a few servants he sailed for Havana, and another failure was recorded.

De Villafane

In May, 1561, Angelo de Villafane, who had carried away most of Tristan de Luna's men from Florida, sailed along the Atlantic seaboard and, near Port Royal, took possession of Carolina in the name of the king of Spain. He doubled Cape Hatteras and was overtaken by disaster on the fourteenth of June. With his remaining vessels he returned to Haiti. In the following September, King Philip II. declared that he would make no further effort to colonize the country, as no gold had been found and he had no fears that the French would come so far south.

In 1570, Menendez, the adelantado of a Spanish Florida that extended from Mexico to Labrador and of whom we shall learn more in the following chapter, attempted to establish a Jesuit mission in Virginia. His vessel ascended the Potomac. The mission party landed and crossed to the Rappahannock where they built a chapel. They were received with seeming friendship that soon gave way to hostility and final massacre. In 1572, Menendez sailed to the Chesapeake, captured eight Indians who were "known to have taken part in the murder of the missionaries, and hanged them at the yard-arm of his vessel." There is evidence that, in addition to this attempted occupancy of Virginia nearly forty years prior to the advent of John Smith, the Spaniards were in frequent communication with the Indians along that coast and in the Chesapeake before the coming of the English. Our country's good Genius (call it by what name you will) was thwarting, as with an intelligent purpose, the determined efforts of the Spanish people to plant their peculiar civilization north of the Gulf of Mexico.

1570
1572
Jesuits in Virginia

Although King Philip was mistaken and the French did go to Florida, we may safely let them wait while we watch the Spaniards west of the Mississippi. In New Spain (as Mexico was called), European legends were curiously blended with Indian stories of the Seven Cities of Cibola, of Ciguatan, and of its neighboring island of the Amazons, all rich in gold and northward from Mexico. On these fanciful Indian tales, probably born of a desire to please and elaborated by the process of finding out what was sought and then promising it, the Spanish built another castle in the air. Nuno de Guzman, then the head of the government, organized an army of four hundred Spaniards and twenty thousand Indian allies and set out in search of the wonderful cities. The difficulties of the march across the mountains led him to satisfy himself with the colonization of the province of Culiacan. When Antonio de Mendoza became

An Old Myth and a New Quest

1539 April 18 viceroy of New Spain, he appointed Francisco Vasquez de Coronado to the governorship of New Galicia. For several years, the cities of Cibola were not disturbed; but when the story of the two-thousand-mile tramp of

Map of Coronado's Route

Cabeza de Vaca confirmed the reports of a vast region in the north, it was resolved to make a new exploration. The command of the preliminary expedition was given to Fray Marcos of Nizza, a Franciscan monk who had gained experience under Alvarado in Peru.

Fray Marcos had elaborate and humane instructions from the viceroy. With him as guide went Estevanico, negro pioneer and companion of Cabeza de Vaca. The expedition set out from Culiacan on the seventh of March, 1539. In August, Estevanico was dead, killed by the natives, and Fray Marcos was back at Culiacan and Compostela with definite reports of the power and glory of Cibola, which he had seen with its stone and terraced houses of many stories, "larger and richer than Mexico." Fray Marcos has been charged with outrageous falsehood, but it is probable that he actually found one of the pueblos of the Zunis, and thus

1539 1540 Fray Marcos

On the Terraces at Zuni

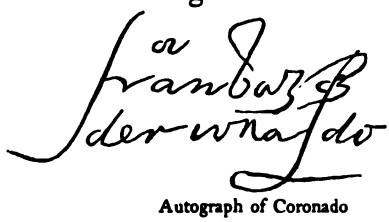
became the discoverer of New Mexico. New Spain quickly resounded with stories of populous cities of fabulous wealth — prizes awaiting conquest. Ambition and avarice were aflame, and the religious orders preached a new crusade for the spiritual good of the heathen.

Another expedition was quickly organized under the personal command of Coronado. Hernando de Alarcon was sent up the Gulf of California with a small fleet to give such help as might be possible. He discovered the Colorado River, and in small boats worked

May 9

1540 his way against its rapid current for "eighty-five leagues." Hearing nothing from Coronado, he returned to Mexico. In the meantime, Coronado had assembled at Compostela an army of about three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians. The famous march began on the twenty-third of February, 1540. On the twenty-second of April, Coronado left the main body of his army at Culiacan and pushed ahead with seventy-five or eighty horsemen, twenty-five or thirty foot-soldiers, and the monks. He arrived at the first town of Cibola on the seventh of July, and named the place Granada. It was the Zuni pueblo of Hawikuh which was destroyed by Apaches in 1672.* A single glance revealed its poverty. Its two hundred warriors made a stubborn hour's resistance, after which the invaders found needed food but not the expected gold and turquoise. "Nizza, trembling for his life, stole back to New Spain with the first messenger to the viceroy."

Coronado



Autograph of Coronado

At Zuni

Enticing Stories

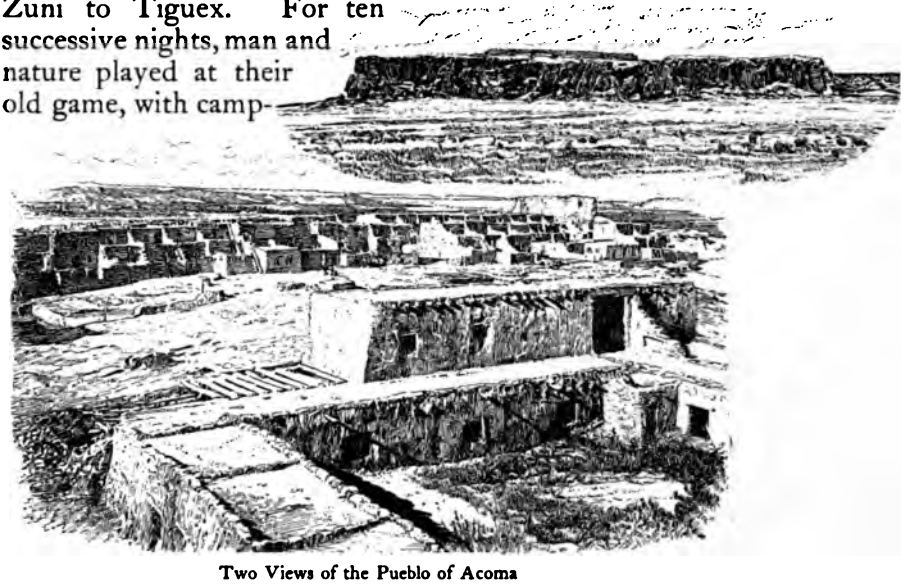
The remainder of the summer was spent in exploring the country in accord with native tales of marvelous wealth—just a little further on. One party, led by Pedro de Tovar, visited the province of Tusayan comprising the seven pueblos of the Hopis more than a hundred miles to the northwest. Tovar brought back news of a marvelous canyon to the westward, to explore which Garcia Lopez de Cardenas was sent. Late in August, Cardenas found what is now known as the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. In September, the main army was ordered up from Sonora to Zuni. Exploring parties visited strange pueblos and wondered at the almost inaccessible mesa home of the Acomas.

* The literature of this expedition is extensive, and the several determinations of the route differ greatly. The route indicated in the map on page 296 is based on the latest information from the Spanish sources. It has been said that the correct location of Cibola is the key to the movements of Coronado. The majority of archæologists fix the site of Cibola at Zuni, but earlier writers placed it at the towns of the Mokis, and at the Chaco ruins. Mr. F. S. Dellenbaugh goes further from Zuni and places the site in the vicinity of the Florida Mountains in southern New Mexico, and makes corresponding changes from the route as herein laid down.

Moving eastward to the Rio Grande, they found, about the site of Bernalillo, the delightful province of Tiguex, and further on the fortified village of Cicuye, identical with old Pecos. Here they found an Indian slave who told marvelous tales of Quivira, a country toward Florida, abounding in gold and silver, and watered by tributaries of a river that was two leagues wide and in which there were fishes as big as horses. From his appearance, the Spaniards called this slave "The Turk." He proved to be a dangerous rival to "the lying monk." In December, the army advanced from Zuni to Tiguex. For ten successive nights, man and nature played at their old game, with camp-

1540
1541

Quivira and the Turk



Two Views of the Pueblo of Acoma

fires and snowfalls for battledores and soldiers' comfort for their shuttlecock. And still the Spaniards listened to the fables told them by the Turk.

In April, 1541, Coronado and his army set out from Tiguex, for Quivira. It soon became evident that the Turk was no good Christian. In May, somewhere on the buffalo plains of Texas, Coronado sent his army back to Tiguex, while, with an Indian guide named Ysopete and about thirty horsemen, he pushed forward

The Search for Quivira

1541 1542 over rolling prairies and through countless herds of buffaloes. In this same month of May, De Soto crossed the Mississippi. After crossing the river of "Saints Peter and Paul" (the Arkansas), and on the forty-second day after leaving his army, Coronado reached the first settlement of Quivira, a collection of grass lodges occupied by a people more barbarous than any previously seen. The Turk now confessed that the people of Cicuye had induced him to lead the Spaniards astray upon the plains that they might there die from famine. He was promptly strangled. After a month of futile exploration, Coronado raised a cross with the inscription, "Thus far came the General Francisco Vasquez de Coronado," and returned to Tiguex. The site of this "last place visited" has not yet been identified. Mr. Hodge and Mr. Mooney say that there can be no doubt that the people of Quivira were the Wichita Indians. If, as has been asserted, Quivira was in eastern Kansas, Coronado might almost have shaken hands with De Soto while both wept tears of disappointment.

At Quivira

Coronado's Return

Early in April, 1542, Coronado and his army began the return march to New Spain, leaving behind two or three zealous missionaries for the conversion of the natives. The friars soon received their martyr crowns. On the homeward march, Coronado met reinforcements. Some of the officers wished to renew the search, but the soldiers clamored to be led back to Mexico. The general "disappointment found a vent in anathemas vented upon Fray Marcos, which have ever since been echoed by historians." Coronado was coolly received by the viceroy, and soon died. He had explored the vast region between the fertile plains of Kansas and the magnificent desolation of the Colorado, but he missed the wealth of silver buried in its mountains. This, in our day, has far surpassed the treasures of Montezuma or the piled-up gold of the inca. Had the courage of the soldier and the skill of the explorer been supplemented with the technical wisdom of the "prospector," Coronado might have

found the opulence he sought, not spread wide in fabled cities but locked in treasure-chests beneath his feet. 1542

When Coronado's main army was ordered up from Sonora, Melchior Diaz remained as governor, with orders to put himself in communication with Alarcon's vessels. Before the end of September, Diaz set out to explore the sea-coast. He marched a hundred and fifty leagues or more, found an inscription on a tree under which was a writing to the effect that Alarcon had come so far and returned to New Spain. The exploration was pushed further, Diaz met an accidental death, and the rest of the party returned to Sonora. Melchior Diaz, 1540

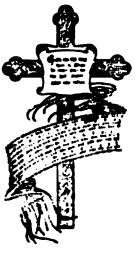
In June, 1542, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sailed in command of a Spanish fleet from Acapulco, on the Pacific coast of Mexico. In the following January, he died at San Miguel, one of the Santa Barbara islands. His pilot traced the western coast nearly to the mouth of the Columbia, and returned to New Spain by April, 1544. Cabrillo

In spite of these meager results, other Spanish expeditions were sent out and many wonderful reports were brought back. About forty years after the Coronado campaign, Espejo led a party northward from Chihuahua and pushed his way into the present New Mexico. The accounts of the wonderful land given by him and his companions were so enticing that Luis de Velasco, the viceroy of New Spain, entered into contract with Juan de Onate to settle Spanish colonists there. After many delays and two years of preparation, Onate and his recruits began their march in January, 1598. The natives received them kindly. The first settlement was made at the Indian settlement of Yukewingge, where Chamita, on the Rio Grande, now stands. This was named San Gabriel de los Espanoles. In 1605, this mission was abandoned. Santa Fé was founded in 1601 and soon became an important town. For a time Onate 1582 Santa Fé

1542 the colonies seemed to flourish, but in 1680 the natives expelled the Spaniards and returned to their old religion and former habits of life. In 1695, the pueblos were reconquered and brought under complete subjection.

The Southwest

In the meantime, and largely to guard against threatened French occupation, Spanish expeditions were sent into Texas. The presidio of San Antonio Bexar (Bejar) was founded in 1714, and the mission four years later. Before the end of the century, New Spain had a strong hold upon the country from Texas to San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco on the coast of California. In these frontier provinces, Spanish priests set up the cross and began still enduring missions, while Spanish soldiers built and occupied a line of presidios or forts for the protection of those who were employed in the spiritual conquest. Mr. Blackmar has reminded us that this "spiritual conquest" meant an entire transformation of everything that pertained to the life of the barbarians, complete subjugation or final extermination. So thoroughly was the work done that, to this day, "modern buildings, modern customs, and modern dress fail to obliterate the old Spanish life." Thus were fairly laid the foundations for Spanish territorial claims that were not quieted until 1848.



CHAPTER XX

THE PIONEERS OF NEW FRANCE

The New Continent

BY means of numerous exploring expeditions, Europeans had been led to suspect the existence of an unbroken continental coast from the Plata River northward to Gaspé. Magellan's voyage threw new light on the significance of Columbus's discovery, and Da Gama's finding of an ocean route to the East added zest to the search for a shorter one by the northwest. In the decade beginning in 1525, several expeditions were sent out, but the efforts of Fagundes, Gomez, Verrazano, and other explorers bore little fruit—the northwest passage and the Saint Lawrence River remained undiscovered.

Cartier

Since the beginning of that century, French fishermen had been making yearly visits to the Newfoundland banks, the greatest submarine island on the globe and the chief breeding-ground of the cod. But, after the battle of Pavia, the French sovereign had been too busy with European affairs to give any attention to western discovery. In 1529, the treaty of Cambray gave a peaceful interlude to the long wars between King Francis I. and the Emperor Charles V. The French monarch naturally looked for lands in the New World with which to make good the loss of his Italian claims. The same treaty left French privateersmen or "corsairs" without occupation. Among these was Jacques Cartier, who probably had made several expeditions to Newfoundland. In 1533, by advice of Chabot, admiral of France, Cartier

1534 was commissioned to command a French expedition to
April 20 America. In the following year, he sailed from Saint Malo, seeking a short route to the Indies.

His Landfall, May 10 With two ships, each of sixty tons, and sixty-one chosen men, Cartier made his landfall at Cape Bonavista, Newfoundland. On the tenth of June, he entered a harbor on the shores of Labrador. From this region, "so forbidding that it must be the land that was allotted to Cain," Cartier passed southward through the Straits of Belle Isle and spent several weeks in the Gulf of Saint

Map of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence

Lawrence. He failed to find the river that now bears that name or any westward passage to Cathay. Early in July, he dropped his anchors in a bay which, from the midsummer heat, he called Des Chaleurs. On the twenty-fourth, he set up a large cross at Gaspé. He entered the Canadian Channel between Anticosti Island and Labrador and named it for Saint Peter, but did not dream that he was in the mouth of a great river that joined the ocean to vast inland seas. On the fifteenth of August, he sailed northward through the Straits of Belle Isle into the ocean, probably not knowing of the shorter route between Newfoundland and Cape Breton Island. With him went the two sons of an Indian chief, it being promised that they should return the following year. In

three weeks, he arrived at Saint Malo. Chabot was delighted, Francis was encouraged, and Cartier at once began preparations for another voyage. 1534 1535

September 5, 1534

Cartier at Gaspé

His Second Voyage, May 19, 1535

Cartier sailed on his second voyage with three ships and a hundred and ten companions, including some enthusiastic adventurers of noble birth and ample fortune and a less worthy contingent of impressed criminals. Late in July, the ships were in the Straits of Belle Isle. Thence they sailed into the gulf and entered the strait that he had previously named in honor of Saint Peter. This was on the day dedicated to Saint Lawrence — whence the now familiar names. The Indians who had returned from France reported that the channel in which they were opened upon a river that led inland to unnavigable rapids. But Cartier went onward, hoping then, as Champlain did long after, that this might prove the open highway to the East. In the smallest of their three vessels the Frenchmen sailed on in a great delight born of the beauty of the river and its banks.

Up the Saint Lawrence, September 1

Sailing up the great river, they were tempted to delay by the picturesque and wonderful gorge of the Saguenay. Further up the river, Cartier met Donnacona, the

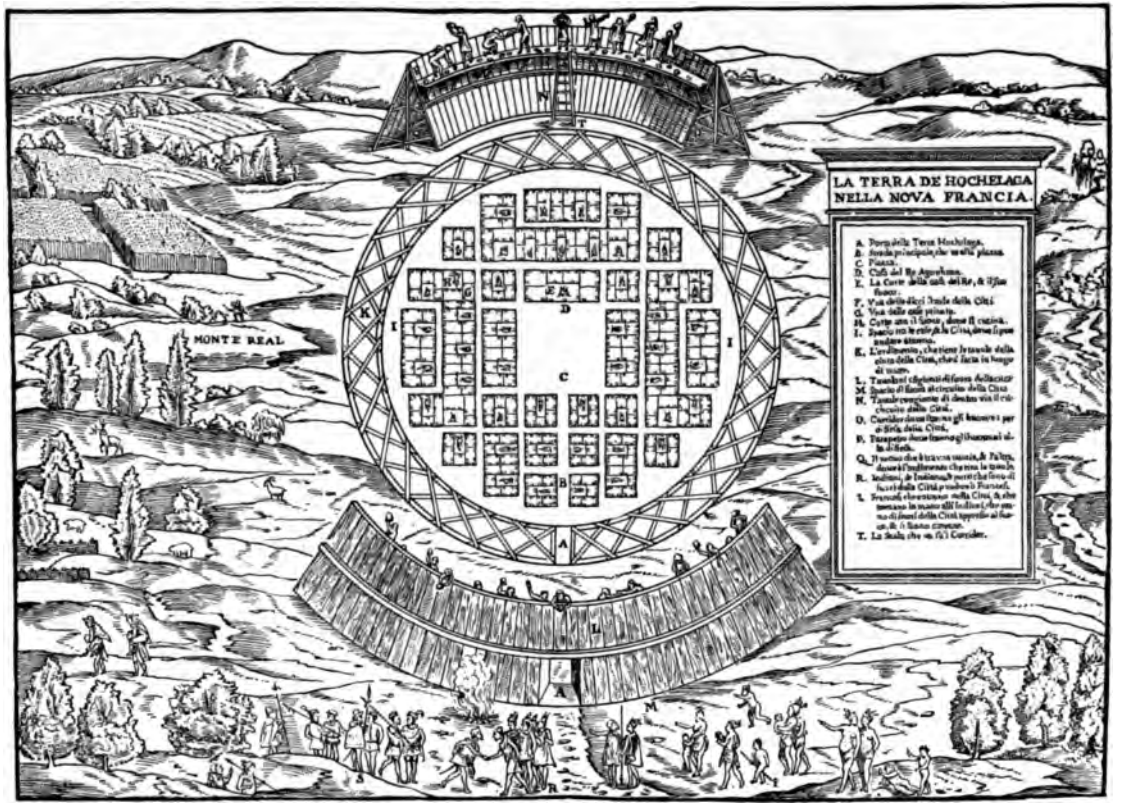
1535 "Lord of Canada," who bade him "go to my village of Stadacone yonder, where you will find safe harbor and a welcome." Cartier accepted the invitation, sailed by the Falls of Montmorency, and cast anchor in a harbor surrounded by scenery of grandeur and enchanting beauty. Just above the Island of Orleans the Saint Charles River flows into the Saint Lawrence. Between the rivers is

At Quebec the noble headland now known as Quebec. Just north of the Saint Charles was Stadacone, the home of the

September 15 barbarian "Lord of Canada." Cartier brought his ships from below and got them into safe position for the winter. Donnacona wanted a monopoly of French friendship and trinket gifts, and sought to deter his guests from a further ascent of the river. One morning, a boat emerged from the woods with three men "dressed like devils, wrapped in hogges skins white and black, their faces besmeared black as any coals, with horns on their heads more than a yard long." These alleged messengers from Cudragny, the local deity of Hochelaga, warned the Frenchmen that, if they advanced further, they would miserably die with the fearful cold. Cartier met prophecy with prophecy and beat the Indians at their own game.

At Montreal, September 19 Leaving a force to protect the ships, Cartier went on with his pinnace, two small boats, and fifty men. Forced by the rapids to leave the pinnace, they still pushed on their way in great delight. The lands on either hand were rich and fruitful and the forests were aglow

October 2 with the beauty of their autumnal robes. At Hochelaga, the explorers were met by the natives (probably Hurons) with every sign of friendship. They found a fortified village of fifty communal houses, each "about fifty paces long and twelve or fifteen broad, covered over with the bark of the wood as broad as any board, very finely and cunningly joined together, and having many rooms." Cartier climbed the hill at the foot of which the village lay. As he reached the summit, he was filled with admiration by the outstretched panorama of wood and waters and mountains. He



OLD VIEW OF HOCHELAGA (MONTREAL)

1535 called the hill Mont Real (i.e., Mount Royal). Since
1536 then the name has been extended to the city and the island. Here the rapids of Lachine checked the westward progress of the explorers. The natives told Cartier that, "after passing three more such falls of water, a man might sail for three months along that river and yet not reach the end." It was an evident impossibility to reach the South Sea by that route and on that voyage, in spite of Indian stories of the kingdom of Saguenay, rich in gold and silver, rubies and other precious gems—stories that stirred up visions of a good fortune like that of Cortes in Mexico.

Cartier's Return, October 11

Cartier and his companions returned to their ships at the "Harbor of the Holy Cross," somewhere on the Saint Charles River. In his absence, the men left behind had built a rude fort and there all passed the winter. They suffered much from cold and scurvy, and twenty-five of the party died. Cartier may have thought that, after all, there was something in the threats of the Indian god Cudragny. In the spring, Cartier set up a cross with the arms of France and, that in person they might repeat to King Francis the story of the kingdom of Saguenay, enticed the chief Donnacona and eleven of his tribe on shipboard. In spite of all entreaties, the Indians were borne off to France. As one of his smaller vessels was not seaworthy, Cartier left her in the Saint Charles, where, in 1843, her alleged remains were found imbedded in the mud. Having left no colony behind, Cartier landed at Saint Malo on the sixteenth of July, 1536. Nothing more was done to explore or colonize the new lands for several years, before which time all but one of the stolen Indians had been converted, baptized, received into the bosom of the church, and buried.

Jacques Cartier

May 3, 1536

But the French could not abandon New France. 1540–1542
Jean Francois de la Roche, Lord of Roberval in Picardy, was commissioned as lieutenant and viceroy of Canada, etc. Cartier was associated with him as captain-general and chief pilot of the expedition. The division of authority was unfortunate. Roberval was anxious for power; Cartier and his companions were "moved, as it seemeth, with ambition because they would have all the glory of the discovery of those parts themselves." When the ships were in the roadstead ready to sail from Saint Malo, Roberval arrived. Unwilling to sail without some artillery that he had ordered, he resolved to fit out another vessel at Honfleur, and gave orders to Cartier to "depart and goe before and to governe all things as if he had bene there in person, and these things thus dispatched, the winde comming faire, the foresayd five ships set sayle together well furnished and victualled for two yeere, the 23rd of May, 1541."

Roberval — January 15, 1540

October 17

After vainly waiting six weeks at Newfoundland for the viceroy, Cartier piloted his fleet up the Saint Lawrence and reached his old anchorage at the "Harbor of the Holy Cross." In September, he sent two of his vessels back to France. He then went up the river beyond the site of Hochelaga, which seems to have been burned by the Iroquois a short time before. When Cartier returned to his fort, it appeared that the Indians were preparing to attack the intruders. At this point the story is suddenly interrupted. We hear no more of Cartier and his men until the spring of 1542, when he was on his way back to France with some quartz crystals that he thought were diamonds and a little metal that he mistook for gold.

Cartier in Canada — August 22, 1541

After the departure of Cartier from Saint Malo in May, 1541, Roberval seems to have gone to Honfleur, secured ships, and put his artillery on board. Owing to delays of several kinds, nearly a year went by before his expedition was ready. In the following spring, Roberval set sail from La Rochelle with three ships that carried about two hundred persons, mostly

Roberval in Canada — April, 1542

1542 1543 malefactors. The accounts of this expedition are very unsatisfactory and even contradictory. Dates are confusing, and the recitals generally given are forced to a considerable degree. All in all, the account herewith given seems the most reasonable and probable. After a two months' voyage, and while refitting the fleet in the Newfoundland harbor of Saint Johns, Cartier's fleet made its appearance. Roberval ordered Cartier and his companions to return with him to the Saint Lawrence. In disregard of the orders of the viceroy, the captain-general and his people "stole privily away the next night and departed home for Bretaigne." Late in June, Roberval sailed up the river and made a landing a few leagues above the Island of Orleans. Whether or not he occupied the buildings lately abandoned by Cartier is not known.

Disease and Discipline

The ships were unloaded and two of them sent back with reports to the king and orders to bring out fresh stores in the following summer. During the long winter, the party suffered greatly from cold, famine, and scurvy. The diet of fish and porpoise bred disease, and fifty or more of the company died. Those who did not die seem to have been unruly, as might well have been expected, for many of them had come from French prisons. The viceroy seems to have had a winning way of making himself cordially hated. As Doctor De Costa says, he dealt out even and concise justice, laying John of Nantes in irons, whipping both men and women soundly, and hanging Michael Gaillon — by which means they lived in quiet.

Roberval's Return

At the beginning of June the ships had not returned with provisions, but Roberval could wait no longer for the conquest of the kingdom of Saguenay. Seventy men were embarked in eight small boats; thirty persons, some of whom were women, were left to guard the fort, and with orders to sail for France at the end of three weeks if help had not then arrived. On the way to Hochelaga, one of the eight boats was upset and all of the crew were drowned. Another of the boats was

sent back to the fort with news of the loss, a small supply of corn, and fresh orders for the garrison to delay their departure for three weeks more. At this point the story is again interrupted, leaving us without information as to the adventures of Roberval and his men in their search for the kingdom of Saguenay. We only know that, when they returned to the fort, they found that Cartier had returned with the much-needed provisions, that the services of Roberval were required in the wars at home, that he at once set sail, and that in the following fall the remainder of the ill-fated expedition returned to France. Roberval, having accomplished nothing, abandoned his viceroyalty. 1543

New France Rests

It seems that Roberval's pilot, Jean Allefonsce, having failed to discover the short route to India through the ice along the Labrador coast, went up and down the Saint Lawrence and searched the seaboard for an opening, going as far as Massachusetts Bay. In 1544, Roberval and Cartier were summoned before the king to settle the accounts of their joint expedition, after which neither took any part in the exploration of New France. Not much had been accomplished by the French in America, and years passed before further official attempts were made. But the efforts of Francis I. were not wholly wasted. The fisheries were maintained and increased in value. Communication between France and Canada was kept up until the end of the century, when the colonization of New France was once more undertaken by the government. April 3

French Protestants

Up to this time, all attempts at American colonization by the French had been made by those who were loyal to the Catholic church. But not all Frenchmen of that age were good Catholics. In his exile at Strassburg and Geneva, Calvin had established the congregation that became the model for the Protestants of France. The Reformation slowly took deep root, and a struggle for political power added its flames to the fierceness of contending religious factions. Within

1555 France all was dark and threatening, while in the gloom
1562 without lay Spain imminent and terrible.

Villegagnon, Thevet, and Coligny

In 1555, and as if in answer to the papal bull that divided the western hemisphere between Spain and Portugal, France sent Protestant Frenchmen to plant the fleur-de-lis on the shores of the New World. A Huguenot colony, under Villegagnon, was planted in Brazil, but it soon came to a dismal end. A Franciscan monk, Andre Thevet, accompanied the expedition, and later claimed to have coasted the entire eastern shore of the United States in 1556. Like Fray Marcos, his reputation for veracity is clouded. The power of the French throne was wielded by the regent, Catharine de' Medici. Among the French Protestants, or Huguenots, was Lord Admiral Coligny, popular with the people and a favorite of the regent. Grieving for the oppression of his friends and anxious for the glory of his France, Coligny sought an interview with Catharine. The regent granted his request, and the scarcely legible signature of the child king, Charles IX., was affixed to a charter that authorized Coligny to establish a Protestant French empire in America.

Ribault, February 18, 1562

Coligny sent two ships with able seamen, veteran soldiers, and some of the French nobility. The expedition was in command of Captain John Ribault, mariner of Dieppe. Of his followers Mr. Gay has said that they were determined to be rich, and that they proposed also to be good. After a tempestuous voyage, land was made on the Florida coast near the site of Saint Augustine, on the thirtieth of April. As the boats approached the land, the assembled Indians pointed

The Landing of Ribault

out their chief seated on boughs of laurel and palm, and even offered their few and scanty garments to the strangers. Thence the Frenchmen sailed northward along the coast and soon came to a river that was found "to increase in depth and largenesse, boyling and roaring through the multitude of all kind of fish." From the date of its discovery they called it the River of May. We call it the Saint Johns. Finding safe harbor and pleasant welcome, they landed and entered upon the possession of their new domain with devotions, delight, and French enthusiasm. "Never had they known a fairer May-day." 1562 May 1

With festooned cypress and palmetto, with wide-spreading magnolias crowned with their wreaths of gorgeous blossoms, with birds and beasts and perfumed zephyrs, Florida in May would kindle the delight of a more stolid people than the French. "It is a thing unspeakable," wrote Ribault, "to consider the thinges that bee seene there, and shall bee founde more and more in this incomparable lande." At early morning of the following day, they landed with a stone column that bore the arms of France. This they erected on a grassy knoll and, with the usual ceremonies, took possession of the country in the name of Charles IX. of France. They cared as little for the red man's claim as they did for the papal bull that assured the land to Spain. The gathering natives viewed the column with puzzled look and mute surprise. In spite of the lesson given by the Spaniards, "they had yet to learn that, as heathens, they were the rightful spoil of all good Christians." At the River of May

The Frenchmen saw tempting evidences of turquoise, pearls, and precious metals, and listened with credulous excitement to native fictions of the cities of Cibola and of rivers that led thereto by twenty days' easy inland journey. Rejoicing in seductive visions of the life for which they had exchanged the civil strife and religious persecution of France, they sailed northward until, "athwart a mightie river," they came to a place that At Port Royal

1562 they called Port Royal. Ribault explored the country, and was so charmed with all he saw that he resolved to plant a colony. Thirty were chosen, and Albert de Pierria was appointed governor. On the island, a few miles from the site of Beaufort, a fort was built, provisioned, and named Fort Charles in honor of the king. France and heresy had taken root in a soil to which Spain claimed the exclusive right by virtue of papal bounty. On the eleventh of June, Ribault set sail for France, bidding the colonists to "be kind to each other; let each love God and his neighbor; let no jealousies grow nor disputes make you live apart, but cultivate brotherly love and you will prosper."

Fort Charles

Idleness and Distress

The colonists relied upon the promise of Ribault to send them aid and soon were dependent upon their dusky neighbors for support. The natives did not hate them as, with good reason, they hated Spaniards, but even the Indian could not help looking with pity and contempt upon the shiftless burden on his bounty. After mutiny and murder, famine threatened, and the colonists determined to go back to France. They built as best they could a crazy craft and set out upon the homeward voyage. After three weeks of calms came starvation and storms. For days the boat drifted helpless. Fresh water was gone and salt water poured in through every seam of the waterlogged craft. Lots were cast to see who should die that the others might live. "Now his flesh was divided equally among his fellowes; a thing so pitiful to recite that my pen is loth to write it." An English vessel rescued the survivors and bore the feeble to France and the strong to English prisons. It was more than a century before the Huguenots again appeared at Port Royal.

Starvation and Rescue

Laudonniere

Ribault had arrived safely in France in July of the preceding year, but France was taking her bath of blood and the little colony was abandoned to its fate. After the signing of the peace of Amboise, Coligny's renewed appeals met with success. A squadron of three ships was sent, in charge of Rene Laudonniere, who had

April 22, 1564

sailed with Ribault two years before. With Laudonniere went mechanics and laborers, many young men of family and fortune, and James le Moyne, an artist, who later left a narrative with many quaint illustrations. In sixty days the fleet arrived at the River of May. The natives greeted them as friends and led them to the pillar of stone that Ribault had set up two years before. Laudonniere says: "Wee found the same crowned with crownes of Bay and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of mill [corn] which they call in their language Tapaga Tapola. Then, when they came thither, they kissed the same with great reverence, and besought vs to do the like which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more in friendship with vs." The simple natives had lifted the stone into the dignity of a god. Laudonniere seems to have heard of the abandonment of Fort Charles, and did not go to Port Royal. His colony was planted on the River of May, not far from what is now called Saint John's Bluff.

1564

At the River of May

Ribault's Pillar

Here, at a spot so fair "that melancholy itself could not but change its humor as it gazed," the Huguenots built Fort Caroline, doubly doomed to bloody baptism. Protestantism did not reach the common people in France as it did in England. The fatal error of Fort Charles was repeated at Fort Caroline; the soil was left untilled. Everywhere the query was for gold and silver; everywhere the natives made reply, "Further on." The colony had as its foundation the religious enthusiasm and the patriotism represented by Geneva and the martyrs. But with the devoted fugitives had been mingled a

Fort Caroline

1564 motley group of dissolute men. A few desperate characters at Fort Caroline stole Laudonniere's two small vessels and began a bucaneering cruise. Two larger ships were quickly built, and promptly seized by others who joined their pirate brethren in plundering the Spanish. Three of the stolen ships were captured by the Spaniards, and the unwilling pilot of the fourth, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1565, ran her back to Fort Caroline. Laudonniere enjoyed the execution of the ringleaders that he thus caught, and those who fell into Spanish hands — Mr. Shea says that in Spanish eyes the Huguenots were simply pirates.

1565

Map of the Huguenot Settlements

Ribault Returns

In the spring of 1565, there was distress in the Huguenot colony, which, in early August, was relieved by the English corsair, John Hawkins. Admiral Hawkins had just landed a cargo from Guinea in the markets of Haiti; from the bloody profits he gave with generosity to mitigate the sufferings of Huguenots. Thus provisioned, and provided with a ship, the colonists

August 28

were about to sail, when Ribault arrived with seven ships laden with supplies and reinforcements. He took command of the now joyous Frenchmen, and a Protestant French empire seemed assured. England had not yet planted her standard anywhere on the new continent. There was no danger to Spanish interests from a French

occupancy of cold Canada, but it was decided that any French settlement further south should be crushed on one pretext or another. Laudonniere was recalled to France, but when he went he carried stirring news. 1565

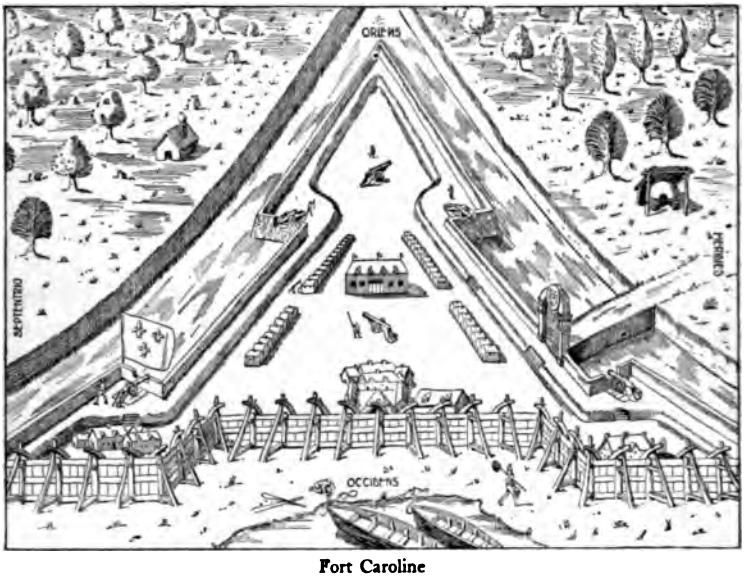
Pedro Menendez de Aviles, after many ups and downs of life, had made a compact with Philip II. of Spain to conquer and convert Florida at his own cost. He was to be adelantado for life and to have large emoluments from the expected conquest. His Florida extended from Mexico to Labrador. Before he sailed from Spain, word came to Madrid that Frenchmen had already invaded his domain. "The trespassers, too, were heretics, foes of God and liegemen of the Devil. Their doom was fixed." For the holy war, nearly four hundred men were added at the royal charge to the force that Menendez gathered, and adventurers crowded to enroll themselves. "To plunder heretics is good for the soul as well as the purse, and broil and massacre have double attraction when promoted into a means of salvation." As Catholic, Spaniard, and adventurer the adelantado's course was clear. Menendez pushed with furious energy his attempt to anticipate Ribault and his reinforcements for Fort Caroline. He sailed from Cadiz on the twenty-ninth of June, 1565. Menendez

A week after Ribault's arrival, a third fleet suddenly appeared off the mouth of the River of May. When the commander was asked who his followers were and what they wanted, Menendez answered that they were Spaniards sent by their king to gibbet and behead all Lutheran French found in his dominions. "The Frenchman who is a Catholic I will spare; every heretic shall die." There are wide differences in the accounts of these events, the coloring of the picture varying with the point of view or tinge of religious bias. In his apology for Menendez, Mr. Shea says: "The two bitter antagonists, each stimulated by his superiors, were thus racing across the Atlantic, each endeavoring to outstrip the other so as to be able first to assume the offensive. The struggle was to be a deadly one, for on neither side was there any of the At the River of May

1565 ordinary restraints; it was to be a warfare without mercy." Ribault won the race, but the Fates turned his victory to disaster.

Saint Augustine Founded

When Menendez gave his blood-curdling answer, three of Ribault's ships were at Fort Caroline. The other four slipped their cables, put out to sea, and easily outsailed their pursuers. When the latter gave up the chase, the Frenchmen watched the Spaniards land their



Fort Caroline

men and stores at the River of Dolphins, a few leagues

September 6 further south. Here Menendez immediately laid the foundations of Saint Augustine, the oldest European settlement in the United States. In this work he used African slaves, another "introduction" of negro slavery into this country. The French ships hastened back to the River of May.

Tactics

Determined to attack the enemy ere they had time to fortify, Ribault left a small garrison at Fort Caroline and

September 10 set sail with his larger ships and nearly all his fighting force. A violent tempest wrecked his ships almost at the moment of attack. Menendez saw his opportunity.

1565

With a force of five hundred men he began an overland march to attack Fort Caroline before the shipwrecked Frenchmen could return. After struggling through swamps and forests, with water often to their waists and rains beating upon their heads, they reached the unsentineled fort in the darkness of night. There was little of fighting, much of killing, but not a Spaniard hurt. No quarter was given even to women or children; a hundred and forty-two were slaughtered. A few escaped through the marshes to the ships and sailed for France, without waiting to hear of the fate of Ribault and his companions. Among these fugitives were Laudonniere and Le Moyne. The few prisoners taken were hanged. Over their heads Menendez placed the inscription: "I do this not as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans." This was on Saint Matthew's day, whence the new name, San Mateo, given to the fort and river. Menendez returned with fifty men to Saint Augustine, where his success was celebrated with thanks to God. The massacre at Fort Caroline was the first struggle between Europeans within the boundaries of our present domain. On behalf of Menendez, Mr. Shea and others have entered pleas of not guilty to some of the worst items of the indictment.

September 17

September 19–20

Massacre

September 21

Pedro Menendez de Aviles

Matanzas, which signifies Slaughter-yard

Ribault and his shipwrecked Frenchmen surrendered in reliance on the compassion of Menendez, whose highest conception of love to God was identical with cruelty to man—when man was heretical. They were received in small detachments and firmly bound. Menendez wrote to the king: "They were put to the sword, judging this to be expedient for the service of God our Lord and of your majesty." Mr. Shea says that they "were put to death in cold blood as ruthlessly as the French, ten years

1565 before, had despatched their prisoners amid the smoking ruins of Havana and, like them, in the name of religion." The spot is still known as "the bloody river of Matanzas." A few Frenchmen who escaped southward from Matanzas Inlet were afterward taken prisoners. By way of variety, Menendez spared their lives. On one of the despatches of his adelantado, King Philip wrote: "Say to him that, as to those he has killed, he has done well; and, as to those he has saved, they shall be sent to the galleys." The loss by massacre at Fort Caroline and Matanzas was said by the French to be nine hundred, but other writers call this statement "exaggerated" and "impossible." Within a month from the arrival of Ribault's fleet, the first act of the tragedy was ended.

Execration

When the news of the massacre in Florida reached France, a cry of horror and execration was raised by the Huguenots and echoed by many Catholics. Redress was demanded, but in the end the French king and his mother pocketed the affront rather than to reopen the quarrel with Spain. The relatives of the victims petitioned for reparation, but Coligny's power had waned and the king was "fast subsiding into the deathly embrace of Spain, for whom, at last, on the bloody eve of Saint

August 24, 1572

Bartholomew, he was to become the assassin of his own best subjects." As Mr. Parkman has pointed out, the state of international relations at that time is hardly con-

Reciprocity

ceivable at this day. Puritans and Huguenots regarded Spain as their natural enemy, and joined hands with godless freebooters to rifle her ships, kill her sailors, or throw them alive into the sea. Spain seized Protestant sailors who ventured into her ports and burned them as heretics or consigned them to a living death in the inquisition. In the latter half of the century, these mutual outrages went on for years. There was occasional menace, but no redress and no declaration of war. But the butcheries of Fort Caroline and Matanzas were to be avenged.

De Gourgues

Dominique de Gourgues, a soldier and a Gascon, had suffered as a Spanish prisoner, chained to the oar as a

galley-slave. It is not certain that he was a Huguenot, but, Catholic or heretic, he hated the Spaniards. He sold his estates, borrowed from his friends, fitted out an expedition, and with misleading pretense sailed for Florida. He made an alliance with an Indian chief, the first of many between the Indians and the French, and attacked the three Spanish forts on the San Mateo. As three years before, there was quick and effective work. The fleeing Spaniards were pursued by the avenging Frenchmen and met, in the tangles of the forest, by the exultant Indian warriors. There were four hundred Spaniards dead; but vengeance was not satisfied. The few prisoners taken were soon hanging on the trees where Huguenots had been gibbeted, "not as Frenchmen but as Lutherans." Over their heads De Gourgues wrote with red-hot irons: "I do not this as unto Spaniards but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers." Again the curtain falls; another tragedy is ended. As the three hundred men of the avenger were not a force sufficient for the capture of Saint Augustine, De Gourgues sailed back to France in May, 1568. His king disavowed his expedition and gave up Florida. The Huguenots had no home, and France no New World empire. At the same time, the Gulf of Mexico lay embosomed within the territories of Spain.

1567

August 22, 1567

The Avenger

CHAPTER XXI

WESTWARD HO!

English Seamen

WHILE these bloody scenes were being worked out by French and Spanish actors, England began to rub her eyes and to waken from her doze. For fifty years few Englishmen had crossed the ocean, while Spain and France contended for the land that Cabot found. The discovery of the American continent attracted as little attention in England as the discovery of the Antarctic continent did in America. The northwest passage was elusively discouraging, and a conviction grew that the better route was by the northeast. Then Edward VI. recalled Sebastian Cabot from Spain. The Muscovy company of merchant adventurers was organized, and under its auspices Sir Hugh Willoughby was sent with an English fleet seeking a northeasterly passage to Cathay. Only one of the ships got home. Two years later, two of the ships were found by fishermen in a Lapland harbor. Willoughby's corpse was found sitting in the cabin, while scattered about both ships were the bodies of the frozen crews. In spite of the pathetic tragedy, a new channel of trade was opened, and the taste of maritime adventure developed an

Queen Elizabeth

May 21, 1553

interest that grew rapidly. When Elizabeth became queen, a fresh vigor seemed to animate her people. A new race arose—lawless men, smugglers, slave-traders; and adventurous bucaneers though they were, they broke the power of Spain, made the name of England and her virgin queen mighty upon the seas, and changed the destiny of North America. 1530 1568

They should take who have the power,
And those should keep who can.

John Hawkins

As early as 1530, William Hawkins of Plymouth, England, "armed out a tall and goodly ship of his own," skirted the African coast, and became the father of an English slave-trade that flourished for almost three hundred years. In 1562, his son John followed his example; and, in 1565, as we have seen, bore needed help to the Huguenots at Fort Caroline. In those days, our English kin, like the Spaniard, took little thought of the cruelty and wrong involved in the theft of human flesh and blood. Hawkins sailed in the ship "Jesus," and in his sailing-orders were the words: "Serve God daily; love one another." He has told the story of escaping starvation when becalmed upon the ocean: "Almighty God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the ordinary breeze." Still, he kept on stealing negroes, selling slaves, crossing swords with Spaniards on land and water, and began the long sea-fight between Spain and England for the possession of the New World. In 1568, by Spanish breach of faith he was disastrously defeated in the Mexican port of San Juan de Ulua. On that day, Francis Drake learned his lesson of Spanish perfidy and learned it well. For meritorious service against the Spanish armada in 1588, the rear-admiral was made Sir John Hawkins.

Sir John Hawkins

1577 Francis Drake took such sweet revenge for the perfidy at Ulua that, for two hundred years, he was known in Spanish annals as "The Dragon." He attacked and ravaged in the West Indies and on the Spanish main until he had "gotten together a pretty sum of money," with which he provided a squadron of five vessels with an equipment that was complete and even luxurious. His flag-ship, the "Pelican," was of a hundred tons and mounted twenty guns. In her hold were pinnaces in parts that could be put together and cannons that could be brought up for use when needed. The five ships carried a hundred and sixty-four men and boys, including "one Ffrancis Ffletcher, Minister of Christ and Preacher of the Gospell." The minister did not prove wholly satisfactory to the admiral, for Drake sometimes did the preaching himself, and once, after putting the parson in irons, said: "Francis Fletcher, I doo heere excommvnicate thee out of the Church of God and from all the benefites and graces thereof, and I denounce thee to the divell and all his angells." Furthermore, he hung around his neck a placard with this legend: "francis fletcher, the falsest knave that liveth." As for the rest, they were described as "gentlemen and saylars," "a companye of desperate banckwrouptes that could not lyve in theyr countrye without the spoyle of that as others had gotten by the swete of theyr browes."

Francis Drake

Sir Francis Drake

In the South Pacific

On the fifteenth of November, 1577, Drake sailed from Plymouth ostensibly for Egypt. In the following June, the beginning of the southern winter, he was at Port Saint Julian on the coast of South America, whence he sailed, in August, to essay the Magellan Strait. On the twenty-eighth of October, the "Pelican" was safe in the Pacific. The other ships had been lost or had

August 17, 1578

deserted. About this time, Drake seems to have changed the name of his ship from the "Pelican" to the "Golden Hind;" both names frequently appear. After passing through the strait, the "Pelican" was driven south by tempests. At the extreme point of Tierra del Fuego, Drake sprawled himself at length on the ground, "as if to grasp the southern end of the hemisphere." Thence he sailed northward, surprising the Spaniards on the Peruvian coast, pillaging their towns, plundering their treasure-ships, and capturing a booty of immense value. From one vessel he took a treasure estimated by the Spaniards at a million and a half of ducats, or about three million dollars. The "doctrine of the inquisition that no faith was to be kept with heretics proved a dangerous doctrine for Spain when the heretics were such men as Hawkins, Cavendish, and Drake."

1578
1579
March 1, 1579

Deeming a return by Magellan Strait too hazardous, "lest the Spaniards should there waite," Drake pushed northward beyond the mouth of the Columbia River. He sailed more than a thousand leagues without seeing land. In latitude forty-two degrees north, he met cold and persistent northwest winds and "most vile, thicke, and stinking fogges" that put an end to his search for a northern passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic. So he retraced his course and entered a bay to careen and repair his ship. No regular log of the voyage is known, but from the notes of the chaplain and the narrative of a companion we learn that Drake found a "convenient and fit harborough," and that "there is no part of the earth here to be taken up wherein there is not some special likelihood of gold or silver." It was long claimed that these notes prove that Drake discovered and anchored in San Francisco Bay, but it has since been made clear that he never entered the Golden Gate, and that the "Pelican" folded her wings behind the eastern promontory of Point Reyes, a few miles further north.

Off the California Coast

Drake and his companions were received as gods by the natives, who made supplication that he would

In the Queen's Name

1579 accept their land and become their king. "In the
1580 name and to the use of Queen Elizabeth he took the scepter, crown, and dignity of the country into his hand." He called the country New Albion. Before leaving, he set up a post with a brass plate on which were engraved his sovereign's name, the date of his landing, and a brief record of the gift of the country. He also left her majesty's portrait and arms—a silver sixpence "showing through a hole made of purpose in the plate."

The First English Circumnavigation

Having gained for himself an honest fame, the illustrious corsair sailed westward across the Pacific, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and, after a three years' absence, arrived at Plymouth in September, 1580, the first of Englishmen to circumnavigate the globe. The people gave him enthusiastic welcome and the queen was very gracious. She banqueted with him on shipboard, rested beneath rich canopies of stolen silk, trod on Turkish rugs that lay on decks oft stained with blood, partook of dainty viands served in silver dishes, drank old wines from golden goblets, and, with his own sword, thrice gently smote upon the shoulders of the kneeling captain of the pirate crew and bade him rise Sir Francis Drake.

Bucaneering Heroes

The reader need not be confused or led into error by a reference to Sir Francis Drake as the captain of a pirate crew. In his day, the English navy was not a national institution in the sense that it is today. A flavor of bucaneering pervaded nearly all the maritime operations of that age, and, to a considerable extent, European navies were supported by private enterprise. This easy-fitting policy was especially helpful to Queen Elizabeth, who was thus enabled to avow or to disclaim responsibility for the acts of her captains as suited best the circumstances of any individual case. Her great seamen would attack and capture a Spanish galleon in time of nominal peace and snugly stow in their own strong chests the gold and silver that they took; thus far they were corsairs. They also did this

in the name of their queen, for the glory of England, and to the cumulative undoing of Spain; in that they were chivalric sailors, knights, patriots, and heroes, and England so regards them to this day. 1585 1586

In 1585, war between Spain and England was declared, and Sir Francis sailed from Plymouth with twenty-five ships and twenty-three hundred men for an attack on the Spaniards in America. They burned a third of Santo Domingo and exacted a ransom of twenty-five thousand Spanish ducats for what they spared. Cartagena made a stubborn fight, but paid a hundred and ten thousand ducats. In 1586, while searching for the English colony of Roanoke, he entered the River of Dolphins, burned Saint Augustine, and carried off rich booty. In 1587, he "singed the beard of the king of Spain" by burning a hundred of his ships in the harbor of Cadiz. In the following year, he was vice-admiral of the fleet that defeated the armada that was called invincible. Arson and Ransom

The sea that was his glory is his grave.

In 1585, the youthful Thomas Cavendish went as captain of one of the ships that bore Walter Ralegh's first colony to the shores of North Carolina. The next year, he followed in Drake's track. He plundered the Spanish ships off the coast of Chile and Peru, and whipped their great flag-ship, "Santa Anna," off the coast of California. With prudent forethought, he removed the silks and satins and wines and a hundred and twenty-two thousand pesos of gold before he burned the Spanish war-ship to the water's edge. He sailed westward and became the second English circumnavigator of the globe. On his return to England, he made this report: "I burnt and sunk nineteen sail Cavendish July 21, 1586 September 10, 1588

Thomas Cavendish

1578 of ships, small and great; and all the villages and towns
1583 that ever I landed at I burned and spoiled." As the loss fell on the Spanish, Cavendish was gladly welcomed by the English. By such doings the naval power of Spain was broken, Britannia made ruler of the wave, and the English colonization of North America rendered possible. These vigorous newcomers "plundered a great many Spanish cities and captured a great many Spanish galleons, but they made no great or lasting conquests of Spanish territory."

Humphrey Gilbert

Sir Humphrey Gilbert had been a soldier in Ireland and France, and with the prince of Orange in the Netherlands had fought for the new faith against the Spaniards. In 1578, through the influence of his half-brother, he received from the queen a commission "to inhabit and possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince." He made an unsuccessful start, and in a few days returned with the crippled remnant of his fleet. He had lost a ship by storm or Spaniards. We need not wonder at the alternative, for chronic plundering begets reprisal. He again set sail in June, 1583, with five ships and a golden anchor sent as a good-will token by the queen. The crew of the "Ralegh" (two hundred tons) soon deserted and ran the ship back to England. The four remaining ships landed at Newfoundland, a resting-place on the way to a more southern land. Sir Humphrey's men were, in large part, a worthless set, and his experience was a series of disasters. As the weather was tempestuous and growing cold and the supply of provisions was low and becoming less, Gilbert resolved to return to England. In a furious September gale off the Azores, the ship that bore the admiral nearly

Sir Humphrey Gilbert

foundered. When Sir Humphrey was urged to go on board a larger craft, he made reply: "Do not fear; heaven is as near by water as by land." That night, the little vessel, with all on board, was swallowed up in the great sea. 1583

Walter Ralegh

The half-brother who had aided Sir Humphrey Gilbert was the famous Walter Ralegh, kindred in spirit as well as by blood and younger by a dozen years. He left his books at Oxford to learn the art of war with Coligny and the Huguenots in France. He served under the prince of Orange in the Netherlands and became the lifelong foe to Spain and her religion. He won distinction in the wars of Ireland, which he called "that commonwelthe or rather common woo." According to tradition, the courtly captain spread his rich mantle that his queen might walk dry-shod, and lost nothing by his gallantry. "He was at once the most industrious scholar and the most accomplished courtier of his age: as a projector, profound, ingenious, and indefatigable; as a soldier, prompt, daring, and heroic: so contemplative that he might have been judged unfit for action; so active that he seemed to have no leisure for contemplation."

Sir Walter Ralegh

Ralegh's Charter

Ralegh took up the work that by his brother's death fell at his feet. The queen granted him a charter that secured for him inviting lands, and for his colonists "all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England in such ample manner as if they were born and personally resident in our said realm of England," "the very thing that, two centuries later, Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams demanded and George III. refused to concede." Even in that early day, the crown and the parliament were engaged in a struggle for the sov-

1584 ereignty, with the privy council as a buffer between.
1585 As the Tudors were always ready to sacrifice the form for the substance of autocracy, a bill confirming Ralegh's patent was passed through parliament. In April, 1584, Ralegh sent Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas with two ships to find the place best fitted for a colony.

Ralegh's Virginia

Early in July, the party found a harbor in the sound on the coast of North Carolina, explored Roanoke Island and the smooth summer waters of Pamlico and Albemarle, gathered what information they could, were charmed with all they saw and heard, and, in September, sailed for England with Manteo and another native, some of the products of the delightful land, "the most wholesome of all the worlde," and "a bracelet of pearls as big as peas" for Walter Ralegh. The report of the explorers delighted the queen and her people. Ralegh received the honor of knighthood and the more profitable monopoly of the sale of sweet wines. He was permitted to call his new domain Virginia in honor of the Virgin queen, and almost without opposition was elected to parliament, where his patent was confirmed.

Ralegh's Colonists

Early in April of 1585, a fleet of seven ships set sail at Plymouth with a notable company of about a hundred men with which to start the colony. Ralegh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, was commander of the fleet. Among the hundred were Ralph Lane, a soldier of distinction who had been picked out as governor of the contemplated colony; Philip Amadas who again commanded a ship and was to be Lane's deputy; Thomas Cavendish, of whom we have already read; and Thomas Harriot, "the inventor of $+$, $-$, $\surd$, and the rest of those algebraic horrors," who went along as historian and naturalist. It was three months before they reached their destination, for Grenville took time on the way to capture Spanish frigates with "rich fraight and divers Spaniards of account which afterwards were ransomed for good round summes." During his short stay, Grenville burned an Indian town and destroyed the standing corn because a silver cup had been stolen and

not returned at once when called for. Of course, the good will won in the previous year was thus destroyed. Promising to return by the next Easter, Grenville soon sailed for England. On the homeward voyage, he made more rich plunder from the Spaniards, with which he safely entered Plymouth Harbor. 1586

Map of Ralegh's Explorations

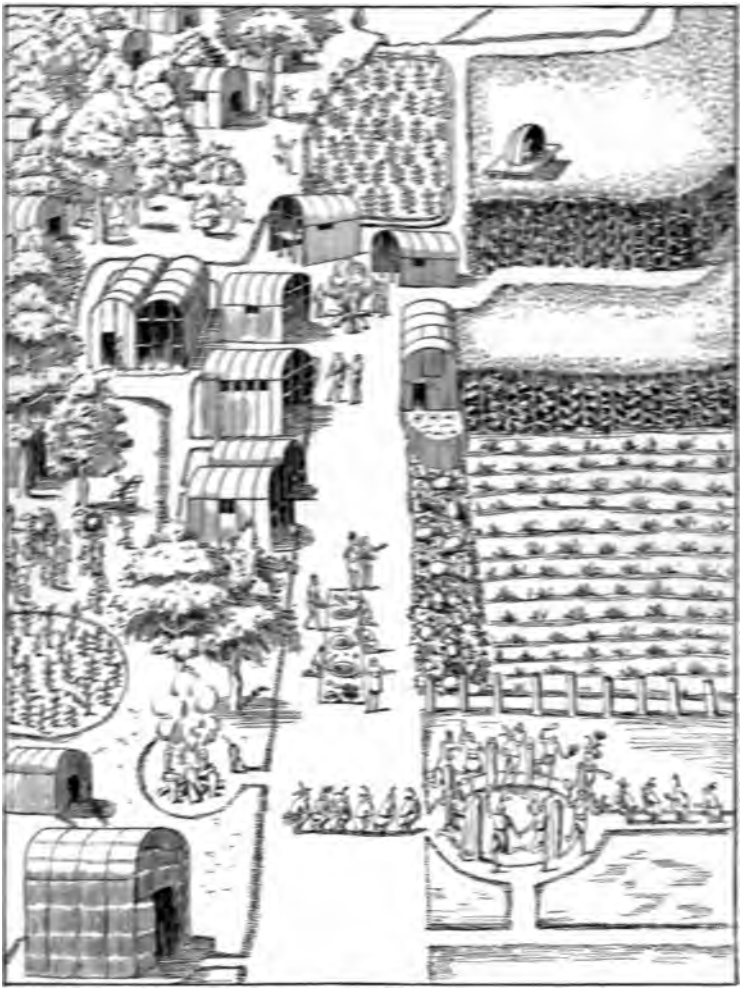
August 25, 1585

Lane continued the severities of Grenville, and soon the natives were changed from admiring friends to open enemies. Supplies from England did not come, provisions were exhausted, and the Indians refused to furnish food. Under grave difficulties, the exploration of the coasts and rivers was pursued with an earnestness that challenges admiration. Suddenly a friendly fleet appeared in the wild road of the bad harbor. On his way home from Saint Augustine, Sir Francis Drake had called to see his English brethren at Roanoke. He found them disheartened with the trials that they had fairly brought upon themselves. In Drake's ships the colonists set sail, taking with them tobacco and potatoes. The ships arrived at Portsmouth on the twenty-seventh of July. The potatoes were planted on Ralegh's estate in Ireland. Hardly had Lane and his companions left Roanoke when relief sent by Ralegh arrived at Hatteras. Finding no colony, the relief ship returned to England. Two weeks after its departure, Grenville returned to Roanoke with

Roanoke Abandoned

June 19, 1586

1585 three ships laden with supplies and also made vain search
1586 for the colony that he had planted. To protect the



An Indian Village

rights of England, Grenville left fifteen men with supplies for two years.

Roanoke Reëstablished

In the following spring, the still hopeful Ralegh prepared a new colony. John White and twelve associates

were incorporated as the "Governor and Assistants of the City of Ralegh in Virginia." Of the hundred and seventeen colonists, seventeen were women; the men were chiefly farmers and artisans. They were to abandon the settlement at Roanoke and establish new homes at Chesapeake Bay. The three ships reached the American coast on the twenty-second of July, 1587. The colonists did not go beyond Roanoke, where they stopped to look for the fifteen men whom Grenville had left the year before. A ruined fort and whitening human bones too plainly told the story of Indian attack and massacre. All further trace of "the protectors of the rights of England" was lost. The Indian Manteo, who had gone to England with Barlowe and returned with Grenville, was now living with his people, the Hatteras Indians, at Croatan. As the faithful friend of the whites, he received the rite of Christian baptism and the order of a feudal baron as "Lord of Roanoke"—the beginning and the end of the true American peerage. In the same month, Eleanor Dare, wife of one of the assistants and daughter of the governor, gave birth to a child whom they called Virginia—the first Anglo-American. After waiting a month, Governor White returned to England for assistance. The parting was forever.

1587 1591

August 13, 1587

August 18

White found Ralegh and the queen engaged with plans for national defense against the "invincible armada," with which Philip II. of Spain, "stung to the quick by heresy and privateering," was about to strike. Even amid these exciting scenes, the courtier found opportunity to send the governor back with two pinnaces, fifteen planters, and "convenient provisions" for the colonists at Roanoke. White fell in with Spanish ships and was forced to return to England. Nothing was done in 1589. Early in the following year, three merchantmen bound for the West Indies were released from the embargo on condition that they would carry supplies and passengers to Virginia. On one of them went Governor White, unaccompanied even by a servant. The merchantmen found plundering prizes so profitable that Virginia was

A Lost Colony

April 22, 1588

February, 1590-91

March 20, 1591

[illegible] not reached until August. At last a boat was anchored off the fort. A trumpet-call and familiar English tunes were sounded: but no answer came back. The colony was lost: it was never found.

Philip II. of Spain

Croatan

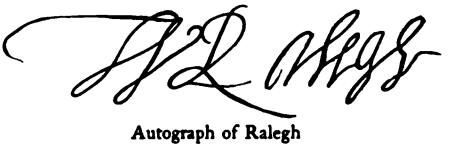
It had been agreed that, if in the governor's absence the colonists changed their habitation, they would cut the name of their destination upon door-posts or trees: if they went in distress they were to add a cross. Upon one tree White found the letters *CRO*, and upon another tree the entirely carved capitals in full, *CROATOAN*; there was no cross. The houses within the palisades were gone, but there were some heavy guns covered with grass and weeds, a rust-eaten suit of armor, and that brief message, *CROATOAN!* How high with hope that father's heart must have beaten; what eager haste he must have made toward the island home of the friendly and baptized "Lord of Roanoke!" But supplies were getting short and the sailors were impatient. The ships made no stop at Croatan as they sailed by. As White was a mere passenger, perhaps he had no choice; perhaps he did not doubt that his children and their companions had been murdered by the red men. "Howbeit Captaine White sought them no further, but missing them there, and his company havinge other practices, and which those tymes afforded, they returned covetous of some good successe upon the Spanish fleete to returne that yeare from Mexico and the Indies."

The Fate of Virginia Dare

It has been generally believed that the colonists of 1587 were massacred soon after the governor's departure. But there are traditions and records that throw much doubt upon the matter and leave it probable that Manteo saved their lives. They may have been incorporated into some Indian tribe, and, when Jamestown was founded twenty years later, Virginia Dare may have been

a young Indian "queen." Thus is the fate of the first family of Virginia clad in romantic mystery. While he had means and personal freedom, Ralegh did not cease to search for the lost colony. He sent on this quest not fewer than five expeditions, but none of them found the colony left at Roanoke. 1591

The death of Queen Elizabeth ended the prosperity of "the shepherd of the ocean," and his attainder for treason terminated his patent. In the long years of his captivity in the Tower, he wrote his *History of the World*, while Englishmen at Jamestown began again the planting of the seed that has more than realized all that he foresaw when he wrote to Cecil: "I shall yet live to see it an Inglishe nation." During a brief respite, he made his voyage to the Orinoco, "led by as wild a dream as any which in that age of dreams bewildered an explorer." From the fabled empire he brought home reports of strange men and many wonders— The Fate of Ralegh



Autograph of Ralegh

> The cannibals that each other eat,
> The anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders,

but not the gold the hope of which had unlocked his prison-doors. On an October day of 1618, he stood upon the scaffold and, testing the edge of the headsman's ax, said: "This is a sharp medicine, but it is a cure for all diseases."

The outlines of the fort of 1587 may still be traced. The site is overgrown and a "live-oak, draped with vines, stands sentinel near the center. A fragment or two of stone or brick may be discovered in the grass, and then all is told of the existing relics of the City of Ralegh." The site, wonderfully preserved for more than three centuries, is owned by the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, Relics of Roanoke

Outline of the Fort at Roanoke

organized in 1893. Between the waters of Albemarle and Pamlico sounds lies the North Carolina county of Dare. Within its bounds uneasy lie the island sands of Roanoke. On the island is the county-seat, Manteo. Such memorials to the lost first-born and the dusky faithful friend are likely to endure. Far beyond the reach of the dirges of the sea stands, as it has stood since 1792, the city of Raleigh, the stately monument to the "brightest blossom of our English renaissance."

Title-deeds of the United States

From the foregoing pages of this volume it may be gathered that heathen lands and peoples were disposed of as freely by European pontiffs and potentates as if they were their own. But the attempts of the pope to divide the new worlds of the East and the West between Portugal and Spain ended in dismal failure. No American title-deeds today rest upon the papal bulls. Edmund Burke based the English claim for American dominion on the discoveries of Sebastian Cabot. And so of all; each rests upon the principle known as the right of discovery. This law is the issue of two principles—one pagan, one Christian, both Roman.

Right of Discovery

The pagan principle is that of natural law, by virtue of which a thing found for which there is no owner—*res nullius*—belongs of right and in fact to the finder. Thus, fish in the ocean and game in the wild-woods belong to him who captures them. The Christian principle is born of the fact that the church defined the heathen as *nulli*—no ones—assuming, not only virtually but practically as well, that a heathen has no right that a Christian potentate is bound to respect. The idea is clearly placed before us in the papal bull of 1493 and in the Cabot patent issued by Henry VII. Granted these two premises, there is no escape from the conclusion known as the law of the right of discovery. The premises were assumed and the conclusion universally acted upon. The luster is one of law rather than of justice.

The ownership of the discoverer is limited by certain conditions:

Limitations

(*a*) The title rested not in him but in his king. Hence Columbus derived his authority as admiral and viceroy, not from the fact that he first found the new Indies, but from the antecedent fact that he had made a contract with Christian monarchs.

(*b*) Possession of the country must follow its discovery. The propriety of this is evident even to those who see nothing fair in any of the allied features.

Validity

These conditions being complied with, a right is thereby established under the law, and the claim holds against all other powers. We have already noted that in England and France, although sovereigns and peoples were good Catholics, the papal bulls of 1493 were waste parchment. An English statute of 1392 asserted that no power stood between God and the crown, and Henry VII. and Francis I. held the assumption of the pope to be mere usurpation; but both countries recognized the right of discovery as binding upon them. Thus, in accord with English law and policy, the Cabotian patent of 1496 manifested a royal purpose to respect titles based upon discovery and occupancy. No longitudinal line of partition was recognized, but English exploration was directed to latitudes that Spaniards had not reached.

CHAPTER XXII

THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

Racial Unity

NOTWITHSTANDING the minor differences peculiar to each community, the thousand native tribes formerly occupying the American continent from the arctic coasts to Cape Horn had certain broad common characteristics that stamped them and stamp their descendants as one race distinct from all others. Among the characteristics of the American Indians familiar to the inhabitants of the United States are, the cinnamon-colored complexion, high cheek-bones, straight black hair, and a lack or scantiness of beard. So far as present knowledge goes, all theories of a foreign origin must be regarded as purely speculative, without historical, linguistic, or other evidence to substantiate them. The Eskimo have been thought to be an exception, but the characteristics that distinguish them from their southern neighbors are now believed to be the result of a long-continued arctic littoral residence. Similarly, an exaggeration of the aboriginal culture found in Mexico and further south was once thought to indicate that the Aztec, the Maya, and the Peruvian were of a race different from the ruder people further north. Now there is an increasing disposition among ethnologists to agree that they were simply Indians, and that their culture was as truly native to the New World as was that of the Cherokees or the Mohawks. For all practical purposes, the American race must be considered as indigenous

American Indians

and distinct. As we have seen, the name "Indian" was given to the people of this race by Columbus under the mistaken impression that he had reached the East Indies. Before their acquaintance with the whites, few of the natives had any more distinctive name for themselves than "men" or "people;" many of the tribes now designate their race as the real or original people. The terms "red man" and "paleface" are inventions of the novelist. 1492 1904

Arapaho Indians

Classification of Tribes

At the beginning of the colonization period, the territory of what is now the United States and British America was occupied by several hundred distinct tribes, some of which were grouped into confederacies of which the Iroquois and the Creeks are the most prominent examples. The migratory tendencies of many of the Indians make it impossible to describe in general terms the tribal occupancy of the country. A map that would be correct for a given date would probably be sadly misleading in the study of events that took place a few

1492 1904 years earlier or later. In Canada and in the northern part of the great plains of the United States, the change of local haunts was especially active. The only practicable classification is based on language, as is explained further in the latter part of this chapter.

Northern Tribes

In very general terms it may here be said of the Indians with whom the English colonists in North America had most to do, that the most numerous were the Algonquians (many tribes of common linguistic stock), who held the greater portion of the country from Hudson Bay to the Carolinas and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and beyond. Like an Iroquoian Island in an Algonquian ocean lay the territory occupied by the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. To these were later added the kindred Tuscaroras of North Carolina; thus "The Five Nations" of the Iroquois became "The Six Nations." Their palisaded villages were in the present state of New York, east and south of lakes Erie and Ontario.

Southern Tribes

The southern Indians were of a milder disposition than the northern tribes. They were divided into five loose confederacies—the Cherokees (of Iroquoian stock), and the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles (of Muskhogean stock).

Western Tribes

Occupying most of the country between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains were the fierce nomads of the Siouan (Dakotan) family. Siouan bands once occupied northern Illinois and the greater part of Wisconsin, and, when some of them withdrew to the west of the Mississippi, they probably left behind one of their tribes. At all events, the early French pioneers found the Winnebagoes in the vicinity of Green Bay in confederacy with their Algonquian neighbors.

Population

At the end of the nineteenth century, there were about one hundred and fifty officially recognized tribes in the United States, exclusive of Alaska, gathered upon more than fifty reservations, besides others that occupied state reservations or were scattered among the whites. We have no sufficient data for ascertaining the aboriginal population at the time of the discovery, but, after mak-

ing all allowances for exaggeration in the early estimate, there can be no question that it has greatly diminished. The popular impression that the eastern tribes have simply been removed to the west is true in but a few cases. In most instances they have been exterminated by war, disease, and failure of accustomed food-supply, consequent upon the advent of the whites. 1492 1904

A few examples will show the extent of the diminution. The Powhatans of Virginia, carefully estimated at twenty-nine hundred warriors or from ten to twelve thousand persons in 1607, were reduced to five hundred and twenty-five warriors in 1669, and to three hundred and sixty warriors in 1700—all this within a century. Most of the Virginia tribes are long since extinct. The Tuscaroras, the leading tribe of North Carolina, estimated in 1700 at twelve hundred warriors or more than four thousand persons, are now reduced to about seven hundred persons, almost all of mixed blood. The Catawbas, once the leading tribe of South Carolina, numbering fifteen hundred warriors on the first settlement of the colony, had been reduced in 1743 to fewer than four hundred warriors, and in 1775 to only one hundred warriors. These represented the remnants, not only of the Catawbas, but also of more than twenty smaller tribes that had been gradually incorporated with them. They now number about sixty mixed-bloods living on a small state reservation, with a few more living among the Choctaws in the Indian Territory. Thus, excepting a body of Cherokees still residing in the mountains of western North Carolina, and those now living in the Indian Territory, the aboriginal population of three eastern states, once numbering thousands of warriors, is reduced to fewer than a thousand mixed-bloods, with perhaps as much of white and negro as of Indian blood. A Vanishing Race

The Pawnees of Nebraska steadily and rapidly decreased from eighty-four hundred in 1847 to seven hundred and ten in 1897. Within the nineteenth century, the historic Mandans of North Dakota dwin-

1492 dled, chiefly by smallpox, from about fifteen hundred
1904 to two hundred and sixty-seven, and the cannibal Tonkawas of Texas from about a thousand to fifty. In northern California the early miners wrought wholesale slaughter among the tribes, while in Oregon and western Washington the same result was accomplished by disease and general demoralization. The apparent increase of Indian population among the five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory is illusive, as these tribes have regularly "adopted" some thousands of whites and negroes, and admitted to full Indian citizenship persons who have but one-eighth, one-sixteenth, or even less of Indian blood. A few tribes still living in their original territories and subsisting by their accustomed food-supply, as the Hopis and the Navahos, have held their own or even increased. The number of Indians now in the United States is estimated at about two hundred and forty thousand, with an additional thirty thousand for Alaska. British America contains about a hundred thousand.

Nineteenth-century Losses

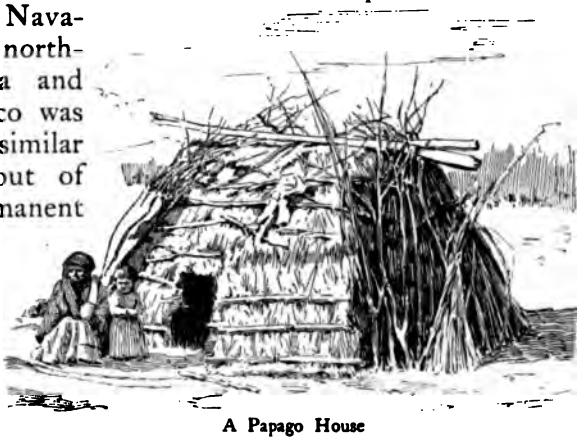
1900

Houses

Aboriginal house types varied in construction and material according to environment. The ordinary Eskimo house was semi-subterranean, walled up with stone, logs, or whale-ribs, and covered with earth. The door was at the side with a covered passageway; in large communal structures entrance was effected by means of a ladder let down through a hole in the roof. At times, the house was of stone, logs, or even blocks of snow cut and laid to form a dome-shaped structure. Along the northwest coast and the lower Columbia, the prevailing type was a square-built house of boards split from cedar, elaborately painted in bright colors, with tall "totem poles" or heraldic columns in front whereon the ancestral descent of the owner was indicated by means of fantastic carved figures. These houses were frequently built of great length, for communal purposes, separate fires for the different families being ranged along a central passageway. The wikiup of the Paiutes, Apaches, and other tribes of the Nevada basin

and the Colorado region was a rounded or elliptical structure of brush or reeds, almost entirely open at the top, as befitted a rainless region, and sometimes surrounded by a circular windbreak to keep off the winter blasts. The Navaho hogán of northern Arizona and New Mexico was of a very similar pattern, but of more permanent material, being solidly built of logs, chinked with cornstalks, and covered with earth, with a low covered passageway from the entrance. The Papago house, south of the Gila, was of grass, sometimes with an earth-covered roof. In all the circular structures, of whatever section, the fireplace was in the center and the door faced usually toward the east. The flat-roofed and solidly built stone or adobe pueblo of the agricultural tribes of New Mexico and Arizona was the legitimate outgrowth of long sedentary residence in a region of little rain. The thick walls and terraced houses suggest the Orient, with its architecture developed under similar conditions. In the area of the plains, from the Saskatchewan to the Pecos, the roving buffalo-hunter sheltered himself in the tall conical tipi, of dressed buffalo-skin or latterly of canvas, its portability and capacity for resisting the prairie winds best adapting it to his needs. In summer, it was set up in the open plain to avoid the mosquitoes; in winter, it was moved into the timber along the stream and further shielded with a windbreak. In addition to the tipi, the semi-agricultural tribes along the Missouri raised

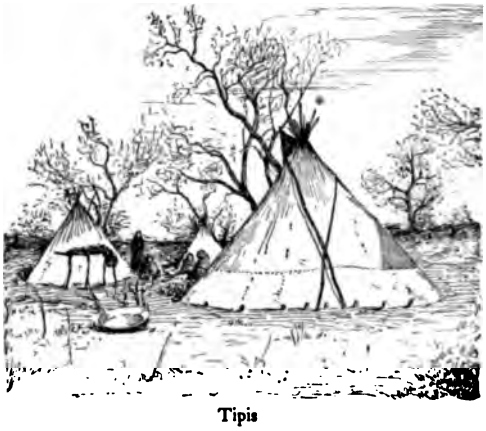
1492
1904



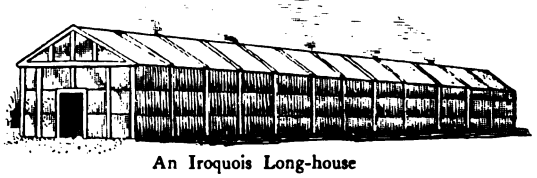
A Papago House

See page 29

1492 for winter residence large circular houses of logs, covered
1904 with earth, while the Wichitas of the upper Red River were lodged in peculiar houses of grass thatch laid over a framework of poles. East of the Mississippi the prevailing type was the wigwam, of wagon-top shape, built of poles and covered with bark or rush mats. Among the Iroquois of New York these houses were communal and from eighty to a hundred feet in length. The *Jesuit Relations* tell of similar dwellings among the Hurons in the region near Georgian Bay. Some of these were two hundred and forty feet long, and shaped "much like an arbor overarching a garden-walk. Their frame was of tall and strong saplings planted in a double row to form the two sides of the house, bent till they met, and lashed together at the top. To these, other poles were bound transversely, and the whole was covered with large sheets of the bark of the oak, elm, spruce, or white cedar." In the wikiup and hogán the occupants slept upon skins or blankets spread upon the earth floor, but in many cases raised platforms along the walls served as seats by day and beds by night. The tipi camp was usually set up with the tents in a circle around a central "medicine-lodge," that answered to the great "town house" in which the villagers of the eastern tribes had their councils and dances.



Tipis



An Iroquois Long-house

Towns were frequently stockaded for defense, particularly in the east, and the low "sweat-lodge" for sanitary purposes and ceremonial purification was almost universal. As war was a favorite pastime and an occasional necessity, the Indian villages were generally built at points of vantage. When the white settler came, his judgment generally coincided with that of his Indian predecessor, and so we find that most of the American towns built by white men prior to the railway era occupy the sites of Indian villages. 1492 1904 Villages

The great majority of tribes depended for subsistence more upon agriculture and the spontaneous fruits of the earth than upon hunting or fishing. These latter occupations were indulged in whenever opportunity offered; but only in the arctic regions, along the salmon streams of the Pacific, and on the great plains of the west were they the chief business of life. The Eskimo were exclusive meat and fish eaters. The Indians of the northwest coast, from Alaska southward to California, may be fittingly described as salmon-eaters, this fish, with the roots and wild berries of the woods, forming almost their sole dependence. In California and Nevada, some of the tribes were distinctively seed-eaters, living largely upon acorns and pinons, supplemented by jack-rabbits in the sage-brush country; some of them were called "Diggers" on account of their custom of digging roots for food. In the Sacramento valley, red-clover blossoms were eaten raw as a great delicacy. Food

The pueblo tribes are preëminently agriculturists. With close industry and careful irrigation, the Hopis cultivate fifteen varieties of native corn and about forty of beans, besides pumpkins, melons, peaches, chile, and other vegetables and fruits, in a country so dry throughout most of the year that at times the sand-drifts cover their corn-fields. Their neighbors, the Navahos, live almost entirely upon corn and upon meat from their herds of sheep and goats. Their sheep, like the peaches of the Pueblos, were introduced by the Spanish conquerors more than three and a half centuries ago. The Agriculture

1492–1904 Papagos, on the southern Arizona border, take their name from a bean of their own cultivation. In parts of the same southwest section a sort of bread, prepared from the roasted root of the maguey, is a staple article of diet. From the pueblo country southward through Mexico and Central America corn, i.e., maize—which, as is well known, is of native American origin—was everywhere the great food staple. The Indian women knew fifty different ways of preparing it, some of which are said to have been excellent.

Fish and Flesh

For the nomad hunter of the plains, the buffalo furnished food, house, clothing, and implements, as well as exciting occupation for most of his waking hours. In the cold region about Hudson Bay and the upper lakes, the natives were necessarily hunters and fishers, supplementing their food stores with wild rice and cranberries, and with maple-sugar which they taught the whites to make. Throughout the rest of the eastern country the Indians were chiefly agricultural. In the intervals between planting and harvesting, they hunted in the forests and watched the weirs and fish-traps that they set up at the mouth of every large stream. The quantity of corn raised by some of these tribes was great, as is proved by the reports of early military expeditions sent against them and by the large supplies provided for the struggling colonists in Florida, Virginia, and New England. Clams, oysters, and fish were used in large quantities along the coast, and some of the shell-heaps, the debris of ancient feasts, are of immense size. Before the Europeans brought the maddening "fire-water," the almost universal drink was water, although a few intoxicants or stimulants were sometimes used. Cannibalistic ceremonies were found among some of the tribes, but it is probable that the eating of human flesh simply for food was unknown, excepting perhaps along the coast of Louisiana and Texas.

Medicine and Surgery

The medical knowledge of the Indian has been greatly overrated. The native physician could concoct a few vegetable simples with fancied occult properties, but he

relied more upon prayers and songs to the animal gods than upon therapeutic remedies. According to the Indian theory, disease was caused by witchcraft, or by malevolent animal spirits that must be exorcised by calling in the aid of hostile and more powerful spirits. Thus, to cure a sickness caused by the deer spirit, the medicine-man invoked the help of the dog spirit, while a sickness caused by small birds was exorcised by the hawk. Sanitary regulations for diet, rest, and cleanliness were practically unknown, and only active life in the open air preserved the Indian in health. He grew old rapidly and was usually short-lived. In the treatment of wounds, the doctors were more successful, surgery being usually the special function of secret societies, such as the "buffalo doctors" of the plains tribes. Some of the reports of their healing performances are almost incredible. 1492 1904

Domestic Animals

Probably the only animal regularly domesticated in North America was the dog, which was found among many of the tribes. In some cases the so-called dog was really a domesticated wolf. This lack of draft and milch animals is sufficient to account for much of the backwardness of aboriginal America. The Pueblos kept eagles in cages for the sake of the feathers, and turkeys for food. Other birds were caged or encouraged to stay near the houses for the same or other purposes by some of the eastern and southern tribes. There is some evidence that an animal akin to the guanaco was in use as a burden-carrier among the southwestern tribes before the historic period. Before and even after the introduction of the horse, the dog, harnessed in the travois of tipi-poles, was the sole beast of burden upon the plains. The barking of hundreds of curs generally made it impossible for friend or foe to approach an Indian camp without discovery. On ceremonial occasions, boiled dog was a favorite dish with many of the plains tribes, particularly the Arapahos, and the Iroquois had a solemn annual sacrifice of a white dog.

Arts

The native arts were few and simple but as varied as the modes of living. Before the coming of the whites,

1492 1904 the only metal in considerable use north of Mexico was the native copper of Lake Superior. The extent of the copper industry is evident from the ancient mining-pits and the copper objects found in the mounds, as described in a preceding chapter. After the coming of the whites, the Indians were quick to appropriate iron and other metals to their own uses. Mica was quarried in the Carolina mountains and worked into mirrors, breast-plates, and pendants, while shells of various species were cut into beads and gorgets. Along the north and middle Atlantic coast and in the near-by interior these shell-beads, known popularly as wampum, had an established value as an Indian currency. Woven into belts, in various designs and colors, the wampum beads preserved the records of treaties and the histories of tribes. Awls, fish-hooks, and arrow-heads were fashioned from bone and, in Michigan and Wisconsin, from copper, while the Eskimos were expert in carving images and fanciful designs from walrus ivory. Stone was used for hammers, war-clubs, lance and arrow heads, hatchets or tomahawks, pipes, pots, and metates. The tribes of the northwest coast did creditable carving in black slate, and the Navahos and Pueblos quarried and worked turquoise.

A Wampum Belt

Woman's Work

Basket-making, weaving, and pottery were arts derived from ancestors of the prehistoric time, with little modification from contact with the whites other than that due to the introduction of sheep by early explorers and colonists. In the division of labor, the things that pertained to war and hunting fell to the man, while all that related to the household belonged to the woman. In general, it may be said that with the Indians, as with most primitive peoples, the woman did the most and the hardest of the field and domestic work. Of course, allowance should be made for the fact that war and hunting involved toil and danger.

Boats

Where the birch was abundant, its bark was used for

covering both the house and the canoe. The Eskimo kayak was of skin drawn tightly around a light framework, with a hole in the top through which the hunter inserted the lower part of his body. Along the northwest coast the canoe was hollowed from an immense cedar log, while in the gulf states the poplar was generally used for the same purpose. Some tribes on the upper Missouri made tub-shaped boats by stretching buffalo hides over frameworks of willow rods. The sail was unknown. 1492–1904

In their early negotiations with the English, large land areas were transferred by so-called Indian deeds in consideration of a few tools and trinkets so little commensurate in value with the land, of which the English thereafter claimed absolute ownership and the Indians the right of joint occupancy, that the barter has generally been looked upon as a good illustration of European rapacity and American simplicity. But "a metal kettle, a spear, a knife, a hatchet, transformed the whole life of a savage. A blanket was to him a whole wardrobe." By means of intertribal barter many articles of European manufacture were passed inland as far as the Mississippi in advance of the earliest white explorers. The rival traders of the English, i.e., the French and the Dutch, supplied these commodities in such quantities that the aboriginal American finally came to be dependent upon them and conformed his habits to their use. In our day, the supply has become a heavy exaction upon the national treasury. Land Sales. European Goods.

As a rule the Indian wore but little clothing, except on ceremonial occasions or in very cold weather, and children usually went naked until about ten years of age. The ordinary dress was of skins; in certain sections of the Pacific Coast short skirts or kilts of woven bark-fiber were worn by the women; in the far south fabrics of native cotton were used. The every-day costume of the man consisted of a short shirt, leggings, moccasins, and breech-cloth; with garters, turbans, elaborate headdresses of eagle feathers, hair-rolls of beaver-skin, Clothing.

1492 1904

and robes or blankets for state occasions. Women wore moccasins, leggings, and short skirts or sleeveless dresses belted around the waist. Both sexes were fond of glittering and jingling ornaments, and no one was in full dress without having the face and sometimes the greater part of the body elaborately painted with fanciful designs. Tattooing was practised among some tribes.

Personal Ornaments

An Indian Chief

Dances

There was abundant leisure in the Indian's life and a large part of it was occupied in feasting, dancing, and the playing of games. The termination of a successful hunt, the return of a victorious war-party, or the setting up of a new camp, were occasions of general rejoicing sometimes prolonged for weeks. The majority of the dances were religious or ceremonial in their main purpose, amusement being of secondary importance. In the arid southwest the principal dances, including the celebrated snake-dance of the Hopis, were intended as ceremonial prayers to the rain gods; with the agricultural tribes of the east, the great ceremony was the thanksgiving festival of the green-corn dance, preliminary to eating the first of the new crop; on the Columbia was the salmon-dance, at the beginning of the fishing season; while on the plains the great annual tribal ceremony was that commonly known as the sun-dance, a solemn invocation, with prayer, fasting, and sacrifice, to the elemental gods and the protecting spirit of the buffalo. The war-dance, the scalp-dance, and the dances of the various societies were next in importance, while of purely social dances there was a great variety. In some of these, especially among the Pueblos and the Navahos, elaborate masks

and head-dresses are worn, and various tricks of magic or sleight of hand are performed by the initiates of secret societies. 1492 1904

Songs and Games

There were songs for war, hunting, medicine, gaming, and love, and lullabies for the little ones. There were the drum, rattle, whistle, flageolet or flute, and several other crude instruments. Foot-races were common, and from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico lacrosse and chunki, the latter played with a wheel and curved stick, were favorites. The women played football and various games akin to dice. In the long winter nights, games of the hunt-the-button variety, with song accompaniments, were played in the tipis, with the men in one circle and the women in another. Children in their play imitated the serious occupations of their elders, with bows, dolls, and other toys.

Hopi Dancers

War

War was a prevailing passion. In general, it consisted of a series of petty raids and individual exploits, with few large engagements or prolonged sieges. In the fiercely hostile relations between different tribes, the early European settlers of America found their immunity and opportunity.

Military Service

Practically every man, excepting the priest, was a soldier from the time of his initiation into manhood at the age of about sixteen. The warriors were organized into societies, and advanced from one to another according to merit and experience. War was declared and peace concluded in formal councils. In the east, the leader recruited his party by making public declaration of his

1492–1904

purpose beside the "war-post" set up in the center of the village, after which each warrior who wished to volunteer signified his intention by striking his hatchet into the post. With the plains tribes the promise was given by taking and smoking a pipe sent around by the organizer of the expedition. Among the Creeks and probably other eastern tribes certain towns were peculiarly set apart for "red" or war ceremonies, while others were known as "white" or peace towns. Before the departure, the war-dance was participated in by all the warriors of the party; on their return with victory, their wives and female relatives rejoiced in the scalp-dance. Scalping was practised by nearly all the tribes from the Eskimo country south to Mexico, but was less prevalent along the Pacific Coast. A few tribes practised beheading. Captive women and children were usually adopted, but the men taken were generally put to the torture. After the coming of the Europeans, the Indians learned that there was profit in reserving their white prisoners for ransom.

A Blackfoot Warrior

Weapons

The weapons were the knife, hatchet, bow, and war-club; upon the plains and in the southwest, the lance and the shield were also used. The ancient Iroquois used a defensive body-armor of light sticks upon the chest, while some of the Mexican tribes used heavily quilted cotton for the same purpose. After the invasion of the Iroquois country by Champlain in 1609, the Indian quickly learned to recognize the superiority of firearms, and to covet such weapons almost as much as he did the demoralizing "fire-water."

The Dead

The funeral customs and methods of burial varied according to the peculiar religious theory of the tribe and the nature of the country. The property of

the dead was generally buried with him or deposited near the grave; some tribes also placed food near by for the soul during its journey to the spirit-world. The name of the dead was never mentioned, and some tribes burned or abandoned the house in which the death occurred. Long-continued wailing and laceration in token of grief were prevalent. 1492 1904

The basis of tribal organization was the family, families being grouped generally into clans or gentes, and these again into phratries and tribes. Tribes, of linguistic stock sometimes diverse but more often cognate, sometimes united to form confederacies. The clan or gens was a peculiar kinship institution found among nearly all the tribes, by which certain persons, not otherwise related, were considered as members of one large family by virtue of descent from some traditional mythic ancestor, usually an animal. The emblem of this mythic ancestor was known among the northern Algonquian tribes as the totem, and was frequently depicted upon the dress, tattooed upon the body, carved upon a post near the grave or, along the northwest coast, upon a tall column or "totem post" set up in front of the house. The civil head of the clan was the "sachem;" the military leader was the "chief." The number of chiefs depended somewhat on the population of the clan. Sachems and chiefs were generally elected, and the power that made could unmake, although council deliberations and tribal ceremonies were generally ruled by hereditary chiefs descending in the female line and in a particular clan. Members of a clan being considered as closely akin, a man might not marry a woman of his own clan. As a rule, children belonged to the clan of the mother, but with some tribes this was reversed, and in a few the boys belonged to the clan of the father and the girls to that of the mother. The system had the practical advantage of assuring to every individual, when necessary, help and protection outside of his immediate family. Clan and Tribe Sachem and Chief

Besides the regular warrior organization there were, Societies

Map of the United States
(Showing the Indian Reservations)

among both men and women, medicine societies, shield societies, and dance societies, many of them secret. There was also a recognized brotherhood system, by which two young men became comrades, having common interests and pledging to each other mutual fidelity under all circumstances. Generally, the tribe was the highest form of social structure. The unwritten law of the tribe was ancient custom as voiced by the chiefs, heads of clans, and old men in council. There was seldom a recognized supreme chief for a large tribe, excepting as he was able to make and maintain his position through preëminent ability. The government was usually democratic. There is traditional and other evidence that, in ancient times, the chiefs of certain tribes exercised despotic power, but the authority which, in the Old World, hedged about a king was little known among the Indians of North America. 1492 1904

Marital Relations

Although woman was generally regarded as inferior, the wife was recognized as the mistress of household affairs and the owner of her separate property. In the league of the Iroquois, the women had a veto power in the council; in other tribes, we find frequent instances of woman chiefs. Marriage was usually arranged through negotiation between the parents of the girl and a friend of the young man, after the would-be husband had reason to suppose that the girl herself was willing. Polygamy was common and the husband of the eldest daughter of a family had a potential claim upon her sisters. The union was long or short according to the convenience and compatibility of the parties, but often endured through life. In case of separation there was no formal divorce, the woman simply taking her children and property and going back to her parents, when she was free to marry again. Among the Iroquois and in some other tribes, she drove the husband out and kept the lodge. Infidelity was punished upon both offenders at the will of the injured husband, no one else having the right to interfere.

Religion

The Indians were animists and polytheists. There

1492 1904 was no supreme overruling spirit, but every object in nature, animate and inanimate, had its resident spirit, to be propitiated and implored for help and protection. Right and wrong were matters of property, ownership, and tribal custom, rather than of abstract morality. There was no heaven or hell, no terror of death, and no necessity of preparation for a future life. The spirit-world was a shadowy counterpart of this; death was a short farewell to accustomed things. Prayers were for direct temporal benefits such as long life or success in hunting, and not for growth in spiritual grace or for pardon for sins, excepting where the Indian believed that he had directly offended one of the gods—as when the hunter asked pardon of the bear for having been under the necessity of killing him, or of the rattlesnake for having disturbed him. The relative importance of the gods depended upon the particular needs of the tribe or individual. The agricultural tribes invoked oftenest the rain gods and their animal messengers, the snakes, whereas those of the plains prayed most to the sun and its animal representative, the buffalo. The hunters prayed to the chiefs of the animal tribes, and the doctors to the plant gods, while, as in other parts of the world, fire was held sacred. Every warrior had his special protecting genius, the secret of which was never to be betrayed to another. There were religious dances, fasts, sacrifices, and purification rites, and innumerable taboos for individuals, societies, and clans. Dreams were interpreted as omens or commands from the gods or as actual experiences of the soul while temporarily absent from the body. The religious idea dominated every important act in life, and the priests were of far more influence and authority than the chiefs. Fairies and kindred spirits peopled the woods, the hills, and the waters, and there was a whole world of folk-lore beliefs and practices.

Prayers

Gods

Language

The languages of Mexico and Central America are still imperfectly classified, but investigation has shown that the hundreds of dialects north of Mexico are reducible

to fifty-seven linguistic stocks. The number will probably be further reduced by closer study with more ample material. Of these stocks, the Algonquian, Iroquoian, Muskhogean, Siouan, and Athapascan may be considered the most important, covering as they do more than half the geographic area and embodying more than four-fifths of the linguistic literature. The only native alphabet is the Cherokee, a syllabary invented early in the nineteenth century by a mixed-blood of the tribe, and so well adapted to its purpose that it is now in general use among the Cherokees for official publication and personal correspondence. The Sioux, Creeks, Choctaws, Winnebagoes, Chippewas, and Sauks have also a written and printed literature in alphabets arranged for them by the missionaries and based upon the ordinary Roman alphabet, while several Canadian tribes have pictographic and shorthand systems also devised by the missionaries. 1492 1904

Reciprocal Animosities

The veneration of the aborigines for the first European comers as creatures of supernatural origin was soon dispelled, and kidnappings and outrages provoked distrust and hatred. When the Indian was unable to punish the individual offender, he felt justified in evening up the score with any member of the hated race. Not all of the white borderers were exemplary Christians and retaliation was altogether orthodox. With fire and flax thus side by side, it was never difficult to stir up trouble.

APPENDIX

SOME STATISTICS REGARDING INDIANS AND INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

POPULATION

THWAITES states that "while it is difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding the Indian population at the time of the European conquest, say the year 1600, yet as near as can be concluded from reports of early travelers and traditions of the Indians themselves it would seem that there were upon the North American continent exclusive of Mexico and Central America between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand Indians, which is approximately about the same number that exists today."

A report of the Department of the Interior accompanying the eleventh census (1890) says that "it is not probable that the present area of the United States since the white man came has contained at one time more than five hundred thousand Indians."

The total Indian population of the United States in 1900 was 226,760. According to the census of that year, the states and territories showing a population of fewer than one hundred Indians each, are as follows:

Maryland	3	District of Columbia	22
Vermont	5	New Hampshire	22
Delaware	9	Rhode Island	35
West Virginia	12	Ohio	42
Illinois	16	New Jersey	63
Georgia	19	Arkansas	66

The largest enumerations, from 10,000 upwards, are found in

Indian Territory	52,500	California	15,377
Alaska	29,536	New Mexico	13,144
Arizona	26,480	Oklahoma	11,945
South Dakota	20,225	Montana	11,343
		Washington	10,039

In states east of the Mississippi there are shown to be in

Minnesota	9,182	North Carolina	5,687
Wisconsin	8,372	New York	5,257
Michigan	6,354	Mississippi	2,203
		Pennsylvania	1,639

No other state east of the Mississippi has so many as 1,000.

For several reasons, it is thought probable that the numbers of Indians enumerated by the census will, during the coming half-century, be very materially diminished.

TREATIES

Treaties between our national government and the Indian tribes have generally looked to the extinguishment of the Indian titles to lands, and the transference of the Indians to reservations and territories specifically set aside from the public domain for their occupancy.

The first treaty was made with the Delaware Indians, September 17, 1778. The next was made with the Six Nations, October 22, 1784.

Senate Executive Document No. 95 of the forty-eighth congress, second session, page 132, gives the total number of treaties up to 1871 as 645. In that list the treaties were arranged alphabetically by tribes — the cause of much duplication. According to the 1903 report of the commissioner of Indian affairs, a careful count shows only 370 treaties in the ninety years, 1778–1868.

By an act approved March 3, 1871, congress prohibited the making of any Indian treaty. Since that time, *agreements* have been made with the Indians subject to the approval of congress. The number of such

agreements, including one made March 21, 1902, with the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, is 74.

EDUCATION

From the time of John Eliot in 1650 to the present day the policy of the government has been, through the influence of education and in other ways, to induce the Indians to forsake the nomadic life common under their tribal system, and to become a farming and mechanical population with the ordinary rights and privileges of citizens. Government training-schools have had an important bearing in this educational work. The more important of these schools are located at the following places:

Carlisle, Pennsylvania.	Fort Mohave, Arizona.
Lawrence, Kansas.	Chillocco, Indian Territory.
Albuquerque, New Mexico.	Genoa, Nebraska.
Fort Stevenson, North Dakota.	Grand Junction, Colorado.
Pierre, South Dakota.	Santa Fé, New Mexico.

In addition to these are many government boarding and day schools, and some church schools which, by contract, receive aid from the government.

The total attendance at these schools for the fiscal year ending June, 1903, was between twenty and thirty thousand, and the total cost thereof was more than three million dollars.

COST

The expenditures of the United States for these wards of the nation, in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, aggregated $10,049,584.86. From July 4, 1776, to June 30, 1890, the civil expenditures of the government on account of the Indians aggregated a little more than $250,000,000.

The Indian wars of the United States have been more than forty in number. It is estimated that they have cost the lives of some 19,000 white men, women, and children, and of more than 30,000 Indians. For these wars the Indians have not always been to blame.

The military expenditures have exceeded the civil expenditures doubtless more than four to one. It is impossible to get at thoroughly trustworthy statistics, but it is estimated that something like two-thirds of the total expense of the army of the United States from 1789 to 1890, save during periods of foreign and civil wars, is directly or indirectly chargeable to the Indian account. Upon this basis, the total is more than $800,000,000. Add thereto the civil list, and we have more than a billion dollars expended on account of the Indians within the century and a quarter of our national existence — not a large sum when we consider that the entire domain of the United States, amounting to two billion acres, formerly belonged to them. A comparison of the military and the civil expenditures as above stated would indicate that it was much cheaper to support the Indian than to fight him.

RESERVATIONS

AREAS AND NAMES OF TRIBES, FROM THE 1902 ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

This report furnishes the latest official information on this subject. Some of these reservations are now mere remnants of their former size.

	Square Miles	Acres
In 1880	241,800	154,741,349
In 1902	117,420	75,148,643

ARIZONA

Reservation	Name of Tribe	Square Miles	Acres
Colorado River (partly in state of California)	Chemehuevi Walapai, Kawia, Cocopa, Mohave, Yuma	376	240,640
Fort Apache	Arivaipa, Chillion, Chiricahua, Coyotero, Mimbreno, Mogollon, Mohave, Pinal, San Carlos, Tonto, Yuma-Apache	2,628	681,920
Gila Bend	Papago (partly roaming)	35	22,391
Gila River	Maricopa, Pima	558	357,120
Havasupai	Havasupai (roaming)	60	38,400
Hopi	Hopi (Moqui; seven pueblos)	3,863	2,472,320
Navaho (partly in New Mexico)	Navaho	14,753½	9,442,240
Papago	Papago (partly roaming)	43	27,566
Salt River	Maricopa, Pima	73	46,720

ARIZONA — CONTINUED

Reservation	Name of Tribe	*Square Miles	Acres
San Carlos	Arivaipa, Chillion, Chiricahua, Coyotero, Mimbreno, Mogollon, Mohave, Pinal, San Carlos, Tonto, Yuma-Apache	2,866	1,834,240
Walapai	Walapai (Hualpai; roaming)	1,142	730,880
Total		26,397½	16,894,437

CALIFORNIA

Hoopa Valley	Hunsatung, Hoopa, Klamath River, Miskut, Redwood, Saiaz, Sermalton, Tishtanatan	154¾	99,051
Mission (22 Reserves)	Diogenes, Kawia, San Luis Rey, Serranos, Temecula	282	180,623
Round Valley	Clear Lake, Concow, Little Lake, Nomelaki, Pit River, Potter Valley, Redwood, Wailaki, Yuki	50½	32,282
Tule River	Kawia, King's River, Moache, Tule, Tehon, Wichumni	76	48,551
Yuma	Yuma-Apache	71¾	45,889
Total		635	406,396

COLORADO

Ute	Capote, Moache, Wiminuche Ute	755¾	483,750

IDAHO

Cœur d'Alène	Cœur d'Alène, Kutenai, Pend d'Oreille, Spokan	632	404,480
Fort Hall	Bannock, Shoshone	700	447,940
Lapwai	Nez Perce	50	32,020
Lemhi	Bannock, Sheepeater, Shoshone	100	64,000
Total		1,482	948,440

INDIAN TERRITORY

Cherokee	Cherokee	6,906	4,420,071
Chickasaw	Chickasaw	7,271	4,653,146
Choctaw	Choctaw	10,871	6,957,460
Creek	Creek	4,811	3,079,086
Modoc	Modoc	6¼	*3,976
Ottawa	Ottawa	2½	1,587
Peoria	Kaskaskia, Miami, Peoria, Piankashaw, Wea	10¾	6,851
Quapaw	Quapaw	88	**56,245
Seminole	Seminole	571¾	365,851
Seneca	Seneca	40¾	26,086
Shawnee	Seneca, Eastern Shawnee	4	2,543
Wyandot	Wyandot	1	535
Total		30,489¾	19,513,216

Starred items not included in total.
*Allotted to 68 Indians.
**Allotted to 247 Indians.

IOWA

Reservation	Name of Tribe	Square Miles	Acres
Sac and Fox	Potawatomi, Sac and Fox, Winnebago	4¾	2,965

KANSAS

Chippewa and Munsee	Chippewa and Munsee	6½	*4,195
Iowa	Iowa	18¼	**11,768
Kickapoo	Kickapoo	12	7,604
Potawatomi	Prairie band of Potawatomi	29¾	19,059
Sac and Fox (partly in Nebraska)	Sac and Fox of the Missouri	1½	985
Total		43¼	27,648

Starred items not included in total.
*Allotted to 100 Indians.
**Allotted to 143 Indians.

MICHIGAN

Isabella	Chippewa, Swan Creek, Black River	3¾	2,373
L'Anse	L'Anse and Vieux Desert bands of Chippewa	8¼	5,266
Ontonagon	Ontonagon band of Chippewa	1	678
Total		13	8,317

MINNESOTA

Bois Fort	Bois Fort Chippewa	86	*55,211
Deer Creek	Bois Fort Chippewa	½	**295
Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac Chippewa	36½	***23,283
Grand Portage	Grand Portage Chippewa	37¾	****24,191
Leech Lake	Cass Lake, Pillager, Lake Winibigoshish	59	*****37,683
Mdewakanton	Mdewakanton Sioux	1¾	1,101
Mille Lac	Mille Lac, Snake River Chippewa	95¼	61,014
Red Lake	Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa	1,250	800,000
Vermilion Lake	Bois Fort Chippewa	1½	1,080
White Earth	Chippewa of Mississippi, Gull Lake, Pembina, Otter Tail and Pillager Chippewa	1,099¼	703,512
White Oak Point and Chippewa	Lake Winibigoshish and Pillager Chippewa, White Oak Point Chippewa	22½ 59¼	****** { 14,389 { 38,090
Total		2,447¾	1,566,707

Starred items not included in total.
*Allotted to 693 Indians.
**Allotted to 4 Indians.
***Allotted to 351 Indians.
****Allotted to 304 Indians.
*****Allotted to 536 Indians.
****** { Allotted to 180 Lake Winibigoshish Indians.
{ Allotted to 479 Chippewa Indians.

MONTANA

Reservation	Name of Tribe	Square Miles	Acres
Blackfeet	Blackfeet, Blood, Piegan	1,500	960,000
Crow	Mountain, River Crow	5,475	3,504,000
Fort Belknap	Grosventre, Assiniboin	777½	497,600
Fort Peck	Assiniboin, Brulé, Santee, Teton, Hunkpapa, Yanktonai Sioux	2,775	1,776,000
Jocko	Bitter Root, Carlos Band, Flathead, Kutenai, Lower Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille	2,240	1,433,600
Northern Cheyenne	Northern Cheyenne	765	489,500
Total		13,532½	8,660,700

NEBRASKA

Niobrara	Santee Sioux	112	*71,783
Omaha	Omaha	23½	15,097
Ponca	Ponca	42½	**27,202
Sioux	Oglala Sioux	50	32,000
Winnebago	Winnebago	43	27,495
Total		116½	74,592

Starred items not included in total.
32,875 acres selected as homesteads.
*38,908 acres allotted.
**Allotted to 167 Indians.

NEVADA

Duck Valley (partly in Idaho)	Paiute, Western Shoshone	488	312,320
Moapa River	Chemehuevi, Kaibab, Pawipit, Paiute, Shivwit	1½	1,000
Pyramid Lake	Paiute	503¼	322,000
Walker River	Paiute	498¼	318,815
Total		1,491	954,135

NEW MEXICO

Jicarilla Apache	Jicarilla Apache	447½	286,400
Mescalero Apache	Mescalero and Mimbreno Apache	741	474,240
*19 Pueblos	Jemez, Acoma, San Juan, Picuris, San Felipe, Pecos, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, Taos, Santa Clara, Tesuque, St. Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Sia, Sandia, Isleta, Nambe, Laguna, Santa Ana	1,081	691,805
Zuni	Pueblo	336	215,040
Total		2,605½	1,667,485

*Size of pueblos varies from 13,520 acres to 125,225 acres; many of them are about 17,000 acres.

NEW YORK

Allegany	Onondaga, Seneca	47½	30,469
Cattaraugus	Cayuga, Onondaga, Seneca	34	21,680
Oil Spring	Seneca	1	640
Oneida	Oneida	½	350

NEW YORK — CONTINUED

Reservation	Name of Tribe	Square Miles	Acres
Onondaga	Oneida, Onondaga, St. Regis	9¾	6,100
St. Regis	St. Regis	23	14,640
Tonawanda	Cayuga and Tonawanda Seneca	11¾	7,549
Tuscarora	Onondaga, Tuscarora	9¾	6,249
Total		137	87,677

NORTH CAROLINA

Qualla (on Tennessee boundary) and other lands	Eastern Band North Carolina Cherokee	78 24 51½	50,000 15,211 33,000
Total		153½	98,211

NORTH DAKOTA

Devils Lake	Assiniboin, Cuthead, Santee, Sisseton, Yankton and Wahpeton Sioux	153½	98,224
Fort Berthold	Arikara, Grosventre, Mandan	1,382½	884,780
Standing Rock	Blackfeet, Hunkpapa and Yanktonai Sioux	4,176	2,672,640
Turtle Mountain	Chippewa	72	46,080
Total		5,784	3,701,724

OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

Cheyenne and Arapaho	Arapaho, Cheyenne	827½	*529,682
Iowa	Iowa, Tonkawa	13½	**8,685
Kansa	Kaw (or Kansa)	156½	100,137
Kickapoo	Mexican Kickapoo	35¼	***22,529
Kiowa and Comanche	Apache, Comanche, Delaware, Kiowa	750	480,000
Oakland	Tonkawa, Lipan	17½	****11,273
Osage	Osage, Quapaw	2,297	1,470,058
Oto	Oto, Missouri	99	63,419
Pawnee	Pawnee	176¼	*****112,859
Ponca	Ponca	41	26,328
Potawatomi	Shawnee, Potawatomi	447½	******286,470
Sac and Fox	Ottawa, Sac and Fox	138½	*******87,683
Wichita	Ioni, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Towakoni, Waco, Wichita	239	********152,991
Chickasaw and Choctaw	Unoccupied	2,362	1,511,576
Total		5,705½	3,651,518

Starred items not included in total.
*Allotted to 3,294 Indians.
**Allotted to 109 Indians.
***Allotted to 283 Indians.
****Allotted to 73 Indians.
*****Allotted to 821 Indians.
****** 215,679 acres alloted to 1,489 Potawatomi.
70,791 acres allotted to 563 absentee Shawnees.
*******Allotted to 548 Indians.
********Allotted to 965 Indians.

OREGON

Reservation	Name of Tribe	Square Miles	Acres
Grande Ronde	Kalapuya, Clackamas, Cow Creek, Lakmiut, Mary's River, Molala, Nestucca, Rogue River, Santiam, Shasta, Tumwater, Umpqua, Wapato, Yamhill	40¾	26,111
Klamath	Klamath, Modoc, Paiute, Pito River, Walpape, Yahuskin Snake	1,362¾	872,186
Siletz	Alsea, Coquille, Kusan, Kwatami, Rogue River, Skoton, Shasta, Saiustkea, Siuslaw, Tututni, Umpqua, and thirteen others	74½	*47,716
Umatilla	Cayuse, Umatilla, Wallawalla	124¾	79,820
Warm Springs	Des Chutes, John Day, Paiute, Tenino, Warm Springs, Wasco	503¼	322,108
Total		2,031½	1,300,225

Starred item not included in total.
*Allotted to 551 Indians.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Crow Creek and Old Winnebago	Lower Yanktonai, Lower Brulé, Miniconjou, Two Kettle Sioux	175	112,031
Lake Traverse	Sisseton, Wahpeton Sioux	484¼	*309,904
Cheyenne River	Blackfeet, Miniconjou, Sans Arcs, Two Kettle Sioux	4,481	2,867,841
Lower Brulé	Lower Brulé, Lower Yanktonai Sioux	313½	200,694
Pine Ridge	Brulé, Northern Cheyenne, Oglala Sioux	4,930	3,155,200
Rosebud	Loafer, Miniconjou, Oglala, Two Kettle, Upper Brulé, Wahzhazhe Sioux	3,525	2,256,100
Yankton	Yankton Sioux	419½	**268,567
Total		13,424½	8,591,865

Starred items not included in total.
*Allotted to 1,339 Indians.
**Allotted to 2,649 Indians.

UTAH

Uinta Valley	Gosiute, Pavant, Uinta, Yampa, Grande River, Uncompahgre, White River Ute	3,186	2,039,040
Uncompahgre	Tabequache Ute	Formerly	*1,933,440

*Not included in total. Reservation restored to public domain save for allottments to 83 Indians.

WASHINGTON

Chehalis	Chinook, Clatsop, Chehalis	¾	471
Columbia	Chief Moses and his people	38	24,220
Colville	Cœur d'Alène, Colville, Kalispel, Okinagan, Lake, Methow, Nespelim, Pend d'Oreille, Sanpoil, Spokan	2,031¼	1,300,000
Hoh River	Hoh	1	640

WASHINGTON — CONTINUED

Reservation	Name of Tribe	Square Miles	Acres
Lummi	Dwamish, Etakmur, Lummi, Snohomish, Sukwamish, Swiwamish	3	1,884
Makah	Makah, Quileute	36	23,040
Muckleshoot	Muckleshoot	5	3,367
Nisqualli	Muckleshoot, Nisqualli, Puyallup, Skwawksnamish, Stailakoom, and five others	7½	*4,718
Osette	Osette	1	640
Port Madison	Dwamish, Etakmur, Lummi, Snohomish, Sukwamish, Swiwamish	3	2,015
Puyallup	Muckleshoot, Nisqualli, Puyallup, Skwawksnamish, Stailakoom, and five others	1	599
Quileute	Quileute	1½	837
Quinaielt	Hoh, Quaitso, Quinaielt	350	224,000
Shoalwater	Shoalwater, Chehalis	½	335
Skokomish	Clallam, Skokomish, Twana	½	276
Snohomish or Tulalip	Dwamish, Etakmur, Lummi, Snohomish, Sukwamish, Swiwamish	14	8,930
Spokan	Spokan	240	153,600
Squaxon Island	Nisqualli, Puyallup, Skwawksnamish, Stailakoom, and five others	2¼	**1,494
Swinomish	Dwamish, Etakmur, Lummi, Snohomish, Sukwamish, Swiwamish	2¾	1,710
Yakima	Klikitat, Paloos, Topnish, Wasco, Yakima	917	587,010
Total		3,646¼	2,333,574

Starred items not included in total.
*Allotted to 30 Indians.
**Allotted to 23 Indians.

WISCONSIN

Lac Court Oreille	Lac Court Oreille band Chippewa	31½	20,096
Lac du Flambeau	Lac du Flambeau band Chippewa	52½	33,666
La Pointe (Bad River)	La Pointe band Chippewa	131	83,816
Red Cliff	La Pointe band (Buffalo Chief) Chippewa	22¼	*14,101
Menominee	Memominee	362	231,680
Oneida	Oneida	102¼	**65,402
Stockbridge	Stockbridge, Munsee	18½	11,803
Total		595½	381,061

Starred items not included in total.
*2,535 acres allotted to 35 Indians; 11,566 acres allotted to 169 Indians.
**Allotted to 1,501 Indians.

WYOMING

Wind River	Northern Arapaho, Eastern band Shoshone	2,742	1,754,960
GRAND TOTAL		117,420	75,148,643

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

THE following lists are not intended to be complete, either as citations of authorities consulted or as references for further study. They are, however, intended to be helpful to the reader who, on any topic, desires fuller information than is possible in a work limited in scope as is this. Such a reader will find valuable information in the general cyclopedias, and such works as Larned's *History for Ready Reference and Topical Reading* (Springfield, Massachusetts, 1894, 5 vols.), and the Appletons' and other cyclopedias of American biography; and wise direction in the *Critical Essays on the Sources of Information* following the several chapters of Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1884–89, 8 vols.). No one who is anxious to secure the best results from a liberal course of reading on this subject can afford to ignore Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* (Boston, 1882, with supplements), Channing and Hart's *Guide to the Study of American History* (Boston, 1896), or Larned's *The Literature of American History* (Boston, 1902, with supplements). This work last named is an annotated bibliography, including several thousand titles in political, constitutional, economic, educational, and religious history, and giving expert information as to the character and quality of books concerning which readers and students of history need most to be informed. Additional help may be found in Paul L. Ford's *Check List of Bibliographies, Catalogues, Reference-lists, and Lists of Authorities, of American Books and Subjects* (Brooklyn, New York, 1889). Descriptive lists of governmental archives, Canadian and American, national and state, may be found in the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, printed in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, vol. 1 (1896), p. 483. Other "sources" are indicated in later reports of the same

commission. From the lists herewith given, many valuable works have been omitted for the reason that they are practically inaccessible to the general reader. After the first mention of a book, it may be referred to by its short title or by its section (marginal) number.

CHAPTER I—THE FIRST AMERICANS

1 **Abbott, Charles C.** Antiquity of Man in the Delaware River Valley, in the tenth and eleventh *Annual Reports* of the Peabody Museum (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1877–78)—the first full account of traces of paleolithic man in America. See also his articles in *Proceedings* of the Boston Society of Natural History, vol. 22 (1888), p. 96, and vol. 23(1889), pp. 421–447; *Proceedings* of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 37(1888), pp. 293–315; and *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 55 (1899), p. 326.

2 **Abbott, Charles C.** Primitive Industry. (With chapter by H. C. Lewis on "The Trenton Gravel.") Salem, 1881.

3 **Abbott, Charles C.** Recent Explorations in the Delaware Valley. Boston, 1892.

4 **Agassiz, Louis.** America, the Old World, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 11(1863), p. 373.

5 **Agassiz, Louis.** The Formation, Structure, and Progression of Glaciers, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 12(1863), pp. 568, 751.

6 **Babbit, Miss Franc E.** Articles in *Proceedings* of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 32(1883), p. 385; in *American Naturalist*, vol. 18(1884), pp. 594, 697; and in *American Antiquarian*, vol. 3(1880), p. 18.

7 **Bancroft, Hubert H.** Native Races of the Pacific States (New York, 1874–76, 5 vols.), vol. 4, pp. 699–707.

8 **Brinton, Daniel G.** Alleged Mongolian Affinities of the American Race, in *Science*, vol. 12(1888), p. 121.

9 **Brower, J. V.** The Early Appearance of Man in the Basin of the Mississippi, in his *The Missouri River and its Utmost Source* (Saint Paul, 1897), pp. 14–30.

10 **Bryant, William C.,** and **Gay, Sydney H.** Popular History of the United States (New York, 1876–81, 4 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 1.

11 **Chamberlin, Thomas C.** On the Extent and Significance of the Wisconsin Kettle Moraine, in *Transactions* of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, vol. 4(1876–77), pp. 201–234. Professor Chamberlin is one of the foremost exponents of glacial theories that differ materially from those set forth in Chapter 1. See his articles in the third *Annual Report* of the United States Geological Survey (1881–82), pp. 291–402; sixth *Annual Report* of U. S. Geol. Survey (1884–85), pp. 205–258;

Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 35(1886), pp. 195–211; the *American Geologist*, vol. 8(1891), pp. 267–275; the *Journal of Geology*, vol. 1 (1893), p. 47, vol. 3(1895), p. 270, vol. 7(1899), pp. 545, 667, 751; the *American Journal of Science*, third series, vol. 45 (1893), pp. 171–200, and vol. 47(1894), pp. 247–283, 483.

12 **Dawkins, W. Boyd.** Early Man in America, in *North American Review*, vol. 137(1883), p. 338.

13 Encyclopædia Britannica (ninth edition) under *America*, vol. 1, pp. 669–717. See *Geology* and *Antiquity* in table of contents, p. 717; also *Anthropology*, vol. 2, p. 107.

14 **Geikie, James.** The Great Ice Age and its Relations to the Antiquity of Man. London, 1894.

15 **Gilbert, G. K.** The Place of Niagara Falls in Geological History, in *Proceedings* of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 35(1886), p. 222. Also see his monograph in *Physiography of the United States* (New York, 1896), p. 203.

16 **Haven, Samuel F.** Archæology of the United States, in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 8 (Washington, 1856) article ii; also New York, 1856.

17 **Haynes, Henry W.** Prehistoric Archæology of North America, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 1, chap. 6.

18 **Higginson, Thomas W.** The First Americans, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 65(1882), p. 342.

19 **Holmes, William H.** Are there Traces of Glacial Man in the Trenton Gravels? in *Journal of Geology*, vol. 1(1893), pp. 15–37. Mr. Holmes dissents from the conclusiveness of the evidence of the existence of glacial man in America. Among his other publications relating to early man in America are Modern Quarry Refuse and the Paleolithic Theory, in *Science*, vol. 20(1892), p. 295; Distribution of Stone Implements in the Tidewater Country, in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 6(1893), p. 1; Gravel Man and Paleolithic Culture, in *Science*, vol. 21(1893), p. 29; Vestiges of Early Man in Minnesota, in *American Geologist*, vol. 11(1893), p. 219; Traces of Glacial Man in Ohio, in *Journal of Geology*, vol. 1(1893), p. 147; Natural History of Flaked Stone Implements, in *Memoirs* of the Congress of Anthropology, World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1894), p. 120; Order of Development of the Primal Shaping Arts, in *Proceedings* of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 42(1894), p. 289; Stone Implements of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater Province, in the fifteenth *Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1897), pp. 13–152 (of prime importance); Primitive Man in the Delaware Valley, in *Proceedings* of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 46(1897), p. 364; Review

OF THE EVIDENCE RELATING TO AURIFEROUS GRAVEL MAN IN CALIFORNIA, in the Smithsonian *Report* for 1899, p. 419.

20 LANSING SKELETON, THE. See articles in *Records of the Past*, vol. 1 (1902), p. 273, and vol. 2(1903), p. 119; *Journal of Geology*, vol. 10(1902), p. 745; *American Geologist*, vol. 30(1902), p. 135, and vol. 31(1903), pp. 25, 263, and vol. 32(1903), p. 353, and vol. 33(1904), p. 205; *American Anthropologist*, vol. 4(1902), p. 743; and N. H. Winchell's *Presidential Address* to the Geological Society of America, January, 1903.

21 **McGee, W J.** PALEOLITHIC MAN IN AMERICA, in *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 34(1888), p. 20; in *American Journal of Science*, vol. 35(1888), p. 416; and seventh *Annual Report* of the United States Geological Survey (1885–86), pp. 537–646.

22 **Mason, Otis T.** THE ABORIGINES OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND THE LOWER POTOMAC, in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. 2 (1889), p. 193.

23 **Mills, W. C.,** and **Wright, George Frederick.** DISCOVERY OF A PALEOLITHIC IMPLEMENT AT NEWCOMERSTOWN, OHIO, in Western Reserve Historical Society *Tract* No. 75. Cleveland, 1890.

24 **Overman, H. W.** FORT HILL, OHIO, in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly*, vol. 1(1887), p. 260.

25 **Payne, Edward John.** HISTORY OF AMERICA (Oxford and New York, 1892–99, 2 vols.), vol. 2, pp. vi, 66–76.

26 **Powell, John W.** ARE THERE EVIDENCES OF MAN IN THE GLACIAL GRAVELS? in *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 43(1893), p. 316. Here and elsewhere Major Powell takes about the same view as does Mr. Holmes; see third *Annual Report* of the United States Geological Survey (Washington, 1882–83).

27 **Powell, John W.** PREHISTORIC MAN IN AMERICA, in *The Forum*, vol. 8(1890), p. 489.

28 **Proudfit, S. V.** COLLECTION OF STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, in *Proceedings* of the United States National Museum, vol. 13(1890), pp. 187–194.

29 **Putnam, Frederick W.** A PROBLEM IN ANTHROPOLOGY, in *Proceedings* of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 48(1899), p. 1.

30 **Shaler, Nathaniel S.** NATURE AND MAN IN AMERICA. New York, 1891.

31 **Shaler, Nathaniel S.** TIME OF THE MAMMOTHS, in *American Naturalist*, vol. 4(1870), p. 148.

32 **True, H. L.** THE CAUSE OF THE GLACIAL PERIOD. Cincinnati, 1903.

33 **Tylor, Edward B.** AMERICAN ASPECTS OF ANTHROPOLOGY, in *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 26(1884), p. 152.

34 **Tylor, Edward B.** ANTHROPOLOGY: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MAN AND CIVILIZATION. London and New York, 1888.

35 **Waddington, Samuel.** THE CRADLE OF THE HUMAN RACE, in *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 48(1900), p. 801.

36 **Wallace, Alfred Russell.** ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN AMERICA, in *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 22(1887), p. 667.

37 **Winchell, Newton H.,** and **Upham, Warren.** In *Geology of Minnesota.* Final report (Saint Paul, 1888), vol. 1, p. 337.

38 **Winsor, Justin,** editor. NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA (Boston and New York, 1884–89, 8 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 329–444.

39 **Wright, George Frederick.** THE GLACIAL BOUNDARY IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, OHIO, KENTUCKY, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS, with introduction by T. C. Chamberlin, in *Bulletin* No. 58 of the United States Geological Survey (1890). See section **23.**

40 **Wright, George Frederick.** THE ICE AGE IN NORTH AMERICA. New York, 1891.

41 **Wright, George Frederick.** MAN AND THE GLACIAL PERIOD (New York, 1892), pp. 66–127, 193–374.

42 **Wright, George Frederick.** THE NAMPA IMAGE, in *Proceedings* of the Boston Society of Natural History, vol. 24(1890), p. 424; and in *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. 7(1890), p. 235.

43 **Wright, George Frederick.** PREGLACIAL MAN IN OHIO, in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly*, vol. 1(1887), p. 257.

44 Articles relating to this chapter and to the following chapter may be found in nearly all the numbers of the *Archæologist* (Waterloo, Indiana), the *American Antiquarian* (Chicago), the *American Anthropologist* (Washington, D. C.), and the *Papers* of the Archæological Institute of America, American series, 1881, continued as the *American Journal of Archæology* (1885). More elaborate articles are given in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, and in the *Reports* of the United States Geological Survey, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum, the Bureau of American Ethnology, and the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology.

CHAPTER II—THE NEOLITHIC AMERICANS

NOTE.—Concerning the subject matter of this chapter, additional information may be found in the works previously cited in this bibliography and indicated by the marginal numbers (sections) **2, 7, 10, 16, 25, 29, 32, 44.** Consult the indexes of such works.

45 **Baldwin, John D.** ANCIENT AMERICA. New York, 1872.

46 **Baldwin, John D.** PREHISTORIC NATIONS. New York, 1872.

47 **Bancroft, Hubert Howe.** ESSAYS AND MISCELLANY (San Francisco, 1890), pp. 1–39.

48 **Brinton, Daniel G.** AMERICAN RACE. New York, 1891.

49 **Brower, J. V.** KATHIO. Saint Paul, 1901. This is vol. 4 of *Memoirs of Exploration in the Basin of the Mississippi*, and relates to an ancient settlement of that name on the shore of Mille Lac in Minnesota.

50 **Brower, J. V.**, and **Bushnell, D. I.** MILLE LAC. Saint Paul, 1900. This is vol. 3 of *Memoirs of Exploration in the Basin of the Mississippi.*

51 **Carr, Lucien.** MOUNDS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, in *Report* of the Smithsonian Institution, 1891, p. 503.

52 **Carr, Lucien.** OBSERVATIONS ON THE CRANIA FROM THE STONE GRAVES IN TENNESSEE, in eleventh *Annual Report* of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology. Cambridge, 1878.

53 **Chapin, Frederick H.** THE LAND OF THE CLIFF DWELLERS. Boston, 1892.

54 **Conant, A. J.** FOOT-PRINTS OF VANISHED RACES. Saint Louis, 1879. A fair presentation of an abandoned theory.

55 **Dellenbaugh, Frederick S.** THE NORTH AMERICANS OF YESTERDAY. New York, 1901.

56 **Fewkes, J. W.** ARCHEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO ARIZONA IN 1895, in seventeenth *Annual Report* of Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1898), p. 527.

57 **Figuier, Louis.** PRIMITIVE MAN (New York, 1870), p. 125 et seq.

58 **Fisher, George P.** COLONIAL ERA (New York, 1892), chap. 1.

59 **Foster, J. W.** PREHISTORIC RACES OF AMERICA. Chicago, 1887.

60 **Fowke, Gerard.** ARCHÆOLOGICAL HISTORY OF OHIO. Columbus, 1902. Valuable, but unfortunately vituperative.

61 **Grote, A. R.** THE PEOPLING OF AMERICA, in *American Naturalist*, vol. 11(1877), p. 221.

62 **Holmes, William H.** ARCHÆOLOGICAL STUDIES AMONG THE ANCIENT CITIES OF MEXICO. Chicago, 1895–97, 2 vols.

63 **Jones, Charles C.** ANTIQUITIES OF THE SOUTHERN INDIANS. New York, 1873.

64 **Jones, Joseph.** EXPLORATIONS OF THE ABORIGINAL REMAINS OF TENNESSEE, in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 22 (1880), p. 259. See also articles on pp. 287, 318.

65 **Lapham, Increase A.** THE ANTIQUITIES OF WISCONSIN, in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 7(1855), article 4.

66 **Lubbock, Sir John.** PREHISTORIC TIMES (New York, 1872), chap. 8.

67 **Mindeleff, Cosmos.** THE CLIFF RUINS OF CANYON DE CHELLY, ARIZONA, in sixteenth *Annual Report* of Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1897), p. 79.

68 **Mindeleff, Cosmos.** NAVAHO HOUSES, in seventeenth *Annual Report* of Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1898), p. 475.

69 **Moore, Clarence B.** CERTAIN SAND MOUNDS OF THE ST. JOHN'S RIVER, FLORIDA (Philadelphia, 1894), 2 parts. In 1902, W. H.

Holmes, the acting director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, said of Mr. Moore that "he may well be accorded first place among archæological explorers within the area of the United States, if not, indeed, in all America."

70 **Moore, Clarence B.** CERTAIN SAND MOUNDS OF DUVAL COUNTY, FLORIDA. Philadelphia, 1895.

71 **Moore, Clarence B.** CERTAIN ABORIGINAL MOUNDS OF THE GEORGIA COAST. Philadelphia, 1897.

72 **Moore, Clarence B.** CERTAIN ABORIGINAL MOUNDS OF THE COAST OF SOUTH CAROLINA (including mounds of Savannah and Altamaha rivers). Philadelphia, 1898.

73 **Moore, Clarence B.** CERTAIN ABORIGINAL REMAINS OF THE ALABAMA RIVER. Philadelphia, 1899.

74 **Moore, Clarence B.** CERTAIN ANTIQUITIES OF THE FLORIDA WEST COAST. Philadelphia, 1900.

75 **Moore, Clarence B.** CERTAIN ABORIGINAL REMAINS OF THE NORTHWEST FLORIDA COAST and CERTAIN ABORIGINAL REMAINS OF THE TOMBIGBEE RIVER. Philadelphia, 1901.

76 **Moore, Clarence B.** SHEET COPPER FROM THE MOUNDS, in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. 5(1903), p. 27.

77 **Moore, Clarence B.** CERTAIN SHELL HEAPS OF THE ST. JOHN'S RIVER, FLORIDA, in the *American Naturalist*, 1902–03.

78 **Moorehead, Warren K.** PREHISTORIC IMPLEMENTS. Cincinnati, 1900.

79 **Moorehead, Warren K.** PRIMITIVE MAN IN OHIO. New York, 1892.

80 **Morgan, Lewis H.** MONTEZUMA'S DINNER, in *North American Review*, vol. 122(1876), p. 263.

81 **Nadaillac, Marquis de.** PREHISTORIC AMERICA (New York, 1884), chap. 10 et seq.

82 OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY. Contains many articles relating to this chapter. An index to the first eleven volumes is printed in vol. 11(1902), pp. 267–486.

83 **Peet, Stephen D.** THE PEOPLING OF AMERICA, in *American Antiquarian*, vol. 22(1900), p. 229. Other articles by the same author will be found in the same publication.

84 **Powell, John W.**, director. ANNUAL REPORTS of Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1879–1902.

85 **Putnam, Frederick W.**, editor. ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, in Wheeler's Survey, *Reports*, vol. 7. Washington, 1879.

86 **Putnam, Frederick W.** ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN TENNESSEE, in eleventh *Annual Report* (1878) of the Peabody Museum.

87 **Short, John T.** NORTH AMERICANS OF ANTIQUITY. New York, 1880. Upholds the theory of a vanished race.

88 **Smith, Harlan I.** THE GREAT AMERICAN PYRAMID [CAHOKIA], in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 104(1902), p. 199.

89 **Squier, Ephraim G.**, and **Davis, Edward H.** ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 1(1848). Supplementary to this is Charles Whittlesey's DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT WORKS IN OHIO, in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 3(1852).

90 **Thomas, Cyrus.** INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF NORTH AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY. Cincinnati, 1898.

91 **Thruston, Gates P.** ANTIQUITIES OF TENNESSEE AND ADJACENT STATES. Cincinnati, 1890.

92 **Wilson, Daniel.** PREHISTORIC MAN. London, 1876, 2 vols.

93 **Winchell, Alexander.** PREADAMITES (Chicago, 1880), chap. 24.

94 **Winchell, Newton H.** ANCIENT COPPER MINES OF ISLE ROYAL, in *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 19(1881), p. 601.

95 **Winsor, Justin.** THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN AMERICA, in Winsor's *America* (**38**), vol. 1, pp. 369–412; see p. 413 for bibliography of aboriginal America.

96 A special bibliography of the Pueblo remains is given in Bancroft's *Native Races* (**7**), vol. 1, pp. 552, 559, vol. 4, p. 662; and in *Papers* of the Archæological Institute of America, American series, vol. 1(1881).

97 The first scientific treatise concerning the "mounds" was that of Caleb Atwater of Ohio, which appeared (1820) in the first volume of *Archæologia Americana*, the publication of the newly organized American Antiquarian Society. A summary of the different theories regarding the origin of the mounds will be found in J. P. MacLean's *Mound-builders* (Cincinnati, 1887), and in Fowke's *Archæological History of Ohio* (**60**). Special bibliographies relating to the mound-builders and their relics are given in Winsor's *America* (**38**), vol. 1, p. 397; in the *Smithsonian Reports*, 1881; and in Rau's *Catalogue* of the Archæological Collection of the National Museum (Washington, 1876).

CHAPTER III — MAZE AND MYTH

NOTE.— See the note on page 373, and sections **7, 10, 25, 87.**

98 **Beazley, C. Raymond.** DAWN OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY (London, 1897 and 1901, 2 vols.), chaps. 5 and 7.

99 **Bowen, Benjamin F.** AMERICA DISCOVERED BY THE WELSH (Philadelphia, 1876), pp. 17–145.

100 **Brinton, Daniel G.** MYTHS OF THE NEW WORLD. New York, 1868.

101 **De Costa, Benjamin F.** PRE-COLUMBIAN VOYAGES OF THE WELSH TO AMERICA, in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 45(1891), p. 15.

102 **De Roo, P.** HISTORY OF AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS (Philadelphia, 1900, 2 vols.), vol. 2, chaps. 1–5.

103 **Donnelly, Ignatius.** ATLANTIS, THE ANTEDILUVIAN WORLD. New York, 1882.

104 **Fiske, John.** DISCOVERY OF AMERICA (Boston and New York, 1892, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 2.

105 **Fryer, John.** THE BUDDHIST DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 103(1901), p. 251.

106 **Glover, Alfred Kingsley.** WAS AMERICA DISCOVERED BY THE CHINESE? in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 27(1892), p. 30.

107 **Goldsmid, Edmund,** see Hakluyt (109).

108 **Griffis, William E.** ROMANCE OF DISCOVERY (Boston, 1897), chaps. 5, 6.

109 **Hakluyt, Richard.** THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOIAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOVERIES OF THE ENGLISH NATION. Originally issued in a single volume, London, 1589; reissued, London, 1598–1600, 3 vols., folio. Of the Edmund Goldsmid edition (Edinburgh, 1884–90, 16 vols.), vols. 12–16 relate to America. The MacLehose edition (Glasgow, 1903–05, 12 vols.) is a more faithful reprint of the edition of 1598–1600. See Goldsmid's edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages of the English Nation to America before the year 1600* (Edinburgh, 1889–90, 4 vols.). Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America and the Ilands adiacent* (London, 1582), has been edited by John Winter Jones and published by the Hakluyt Society (London, 1850). Its contents are included in Goldsmid's edition. The most important contemporary narratives of English exploration given in the Hakluyt collection constitute Edward John Payne's *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America* (London, 1880 and 1890).

110 **Higginson, Thomas W.** TALES OF THE ENCHANTED ISLANDS OF THE ATLANTIC. New York, 1898.

111 **Irving, Washington.** LIFE AND VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS (New York, 1868, 3 vols.), book 1, chap. 4, and appendix.

112 **Leland, Charles G.** FU SANG, OR THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY CHINESE BUDDHIST PRIESTS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. London and New York, 1875.

113 **Lucas, Fred W.** ANNALS OF THE VOYAGES OF THE BROTHERS NICOLO AND ANTONIO ZENO. London, 1898. Critique by De Costa, in *American Historical Review*, vol. 4(1899), p. 726.

114 **Mackey, Æneas J. G.** ST. BRENDAN OF CLONFERT AND CLONFERT BRENDAN, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. 162(1897), p. 135.

115 **Mather, Samuel.** ATTEMPT TO SHOW THAT AMERICA MUST HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO THE ANCIENTS. Boston, 1773.

116 **Mooney, James.** THE GROWTH OF A MYTH, in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 4(1891), p. 393.

117 **Moore, M. V.** DID THE ROMANS COLONIZE AMERICA? in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 12(1884), pp. 113, 354.

118 **Mulhall, Mrs. M.** The Hiberno-Danish Predecessors of Columbus, in *Dublin Review*, vol. 122(1898), p. 22.

119 Old America, Legends of, in *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 26(1872), p. 452, and in *Littell's Living Age*, vol. 119(1873), p. 761.

120 **Ropes, Arthur.** Early Explorations of America, Real and Imaginary, in *English Historical Review*, vol. 2(1887), p. 78.

121 **Stephens, Thomas.** Madoc. London and New York, 1893.

122 **Vining, Edward P.** An Inglorious Columbus. New York, 1885.

123 **Weise, Arthur J.** Discoveries of America to 1525 (New York, 1884), chap. 1.

124 **Wilson, Sir Daniel.** The Lost Atlantis and other Ethnographic Studies (New York, 1892), pp. 1–36.

125 **Winsor, Justin.** Pre-Columbian Explorations, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 1, chap. 2.

CHAPTER IV — THE NORTHMEN

Note. — See the note on page 373, and sections **10, 25, 102, 104, 108, 118, 122, 123, 125.**

126 American History Leaflets. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and Edward Channing. New York, 1892–96, 30 numbers.

127 **Anderson, Rasmus B.** America not Discovered by Columbus. Chicago, 1883. The third edition contains bibliography (by P. B. Watson) of pre-Columbian discoveries.

128 **Anderson, Rasmus B.** Viking Tales of the North. Chicago, 1877.

129 **Ballantyne, Robert M.** The Norsemen in the West, or America before Columbus. New York, 1870.

130 **Baxter, James Phinney.** The Present Status of Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by Norsemen, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1893, p. 101.

131 **Blind, Karl.** Forerunners of Columbus, in *Littell's Living Age*, vol. 195(1892), p. 387.

132 **Boggild, F.** The Ante-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, in *Historical Magazine*, vol. 15(1869), pp. 170–178.

133 **Bull, Sara C.** Leif Ericson, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 19(1888), p. 217.

134 **De Costa, Benjamin F.** The Northmen in Maine. Albany, 1870.

135 **De Costa, Benjamin F.** Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen. Albany, 1868 and 1889.

136 **Du Bois, B. H.** Did the Norse Discover America? in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 27(1892), p. 369.

137 **Du Chaillu, Paul B.** Viking Age (New York, 1889, 2 vols.), vol. 2, chap. 33.

138 **Eden, Richard.** The Decades of the New World or West India. London, 1555. Reprinted in Edward Arber's *The First three English Books on America* (London, 1885), pp. 346, 389.

139 **Elton, Charles.** The Career of Columbus (New York, 1892), chap. 10.

140 Encyclopædia Britannica (ninth edition). See index under *Geography, Discovery,* and *Northmen.*

141 **Fischer, Joseph.** The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America. Translated into English by Basil H. Soulsby. London and Saint Louis, 1903.

142 **Fowke, Gerard.** Norse Remains near Boston, in *American Naturalist,* vol. 28(1894), p. 623.

143 **Fowke, Gerard.** Points of Difference between Norse Remains and Indian Works, in *American Anthropologist,* vol. 2 (1900), p. 550.

144 **Haliburton, R. G.** Lost Colonies of Northmen and Portuguese, in *Popular Science Monthly,* vol. 27(1885), p. 40.

145 **Hart, Albert B.** American History told by Contemporaries (New York, 1898–1901, 4 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 28–34.

146 **Higginson, Thomas W.** Book of American Explorers (Boston, 1877), pp. 1–12.

147 **Higginson, Thomas W.** The Visit of the Vikings, in *Harper's Magazine,* vol. 65(1882), p. 515.

148 **Horsford, Eben N.** Discovery of America by Northmen. Boston, 1888.

149 **Howley, M. F.** Vinland, in *Proceedings* of the Royal Society of Canada, new series, vol. 4(1899), sec. 2, p. 77.

150 **Kohl, John G.** History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America, 990–1578, in Maine Historical Society *Publications,* second series, vol. 1 (Documentary History).

151 **Liljencrantz, Ottilie A.** The Thrall of Leif the Lucky. Chicago, 1902. A story of viking days.

152 **Longfellow, Henry W.** The Skeleton in Armor, in *Complete Works* (Boston 1895, Cambridge edition), p. 11.

153 **MacLean, J. P.** Norse Discovery of America. Chicago, 1892.

154 **Neukomm, Edmond.** Rulers of the Sea. Boston, 1896.

155 Old South Leaflets. Edited by Edwin D. Mead. Boston, 1890–1902, 125 numbers; 5 vols.

156 **Olson, J. E.** Problem of the Northmen and the Site of Norumbega, in *The Dial,* vol. 11(1890), p. 112.

157 **Reeves, Arthur M.** Finding of Wineland, the Good. London and New York, 1890.

158 Sagas, Extracts from, in *American History Leaflets* (**126**), No. 3. Also see *Voyage to Vinland* (**164**).

159 **Slafter, Edmund F.** Voyages of Northmen to America. Boston, 1877. A Prince Society *Publication*.

160 **Sparks, Edwin E.** The Expansion of the American People (Chicago, 1900), chap. 1.

161 **Storm, Gustav.** Studies on the Vineland Voyages. Copenhagen, 1889.

162 **White, John S.** The Viking Ship, in *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. 2(1887), p. 604.

163 **Whittier, John G.** The Norsemen, in *Poetical Works* (New York and Boston, 1892, 4 vols.), vol. 1, p. 37.

164 Voyage to Vinland, The, from the Saga of Eric, the Red, in *Old South Leaflets* (**155**), No. 31.

CHAPTER V—EARLY GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

Note.—See the note on page 373, and sections **25, 38, 98, 99, 111, 138.**

165 Ancient Chinese Geography, in *Nature*, vol. 31(1884–85), p. 58.

166 **Anthon, Charles.** System of Ancient and Mediæval Geography. New York, 1850.

167 **Barrows, W.** America, the World's Puzzle in Geography, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 21(1889), p. 208.

168 **Bevan, William L.** Students' Manual of Ancient Geography. London, 1875.

169 **Beazley, C. Raymond.** Prince Henry the Navigator (New York, 1895), pp. 1–120.

170 **Bunbury, E. H.** History of Ancient Geography (London, 1879, 2 vols.), vol. 2, p. 209.

171 **Dufferin, Marquis of.** John Cabot, in *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. 22(1897), p. 62.

172 Encyclopædia Britannica (ninth edition). See table of contents to article on *America*, vol. 1, p. 717; *Ancient Geography*, vol. 15, p. 516; *Ptolemy*, vol. 20, p. 91; *Strabo*, vol. 22, p. 581; *Marco Polo*, vol. 19, p. 408.

173 **Falconer, H. C.**, and **Hamilton, W.**, translators. The Geography of Strabo (London, 1854, 3 vols.), vol. 1.

174 **Fiske, John.** Europe and Cathay, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 68(1891), p. 369.

175 **Irving, Washington.** The Enchanted Island; a Legend of St. Brandan, in his *Wolfert's Roost and Miscellanies*.

176 **Johnson, W. H.** The World's Discoverers (Boston, 1900), chap. 1, *Marco Polo*.

177 **Keltie, J. Scott.** Applied Geography, in *Littell's Living Age*, vol. 179(1888), p. 67.

178 **Marco Polo.** Account of Japan and Java, in *Old South Leaflets* (**155**), No. 32. A two-volume translation of his *Book* (revised edition) was published in London, 1903.

179 **Maury, M.** An Examination of the Claims of Columbus, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 42(1871), pp. 425, 527.

180 **Prescott, William H.** Ferdinand and Isabella (Philadelphia, 1875, 3 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 109–117.

181 **Strabo.** Introduction to Geography (with maps), in *Old South Leaflets* (155), No. 30. Also see above (173).

182 **Strachey, R.** Lectures on Geography (London 1888), lecture 2.

183 **Tillinghast, William H.** Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 1, chap. 1. Critical essay by Winsor, in his *America* (38), vol. 1, pp. 33–58.

184 **Winsor, Justin.** The Early Descriptions of America, in his *America* (38), vol. 1, p. xix.

CHAPTER VI — PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

Note.— See the note on page 373, and sections **10, 25, 104, 108, 111, 123, 176.**

185 **Beazley, C. Raymond.** Prince Henry the Navigator. New York, 1895.

186 **Beazley, C. Raymond.** Translation of Azurara's Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea (London, 1896–99, 2 vols.), in Hakluyt Society *Publications*.

187 **Bourne, Edward G.** Prince Henry, the Navigator, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1893, pp. 111–123, and in *Yale Review*, vol. 3(1894), p. 187.

188 **Helps, Arthur.** Life of Columbus (London, 1869), pp. 8–46.

189 **Lamb, Martha J.** Prince Henry, the Navigator, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 27(1892), p. 37.

190 **Major, Richard H.** Discoveries of Prince Henry, the Navigator. London, 1877.

191 **Major, Richard H.** Prince Henry, the Navigator, in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 128(1868), p. 102.

192 **Markham, Clements R.** The Sea Fathers (London, 1884), pp. 1–21.

193 **Stephens, H. Morse.** Portugal (New York, 1893), pp. 140–157.

194 **Vogel, Theodor.** Century of Discovery (Boston, 1877), p. 6.

195 **Winsor, Justin.** Christopher Columbus (New York and Boston, 1892), p. 92. This book is one of the most valuable of the many written on the subject. I gladly acknowledge my great obligation to it.

CHAPTER VII — COLUMBUS AND HIS GREAT IDEA

NOTE. — See the note on page 373, and sections **10, 25, 104, 108, 109, 111, 123, 138, 139, 146, 176, 180, 188, 192, 195.**

196 **Abbott, J. S. C.** CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 38(1869), p. 721.

197 **Adams, H. B.,** and **Wood, Henry.** COLUMBUS AND HIS DISCOVERY, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, series 10, Nos. 10, 11. Baltimore, 1892.

198 **Adams, Charles Kendall.** CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS (New York, 1892), pp. 1–73.

199 **Alden, W. L.** CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS (New York, 1881), pp. 1–74.

200 **Bancroft, George.** HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (New York, 1886, 6 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 7–13.

201 **Castelar, Emilio.** CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in *Century Magazine*, vol. 22(1892), pp. 122, 280, 351, 584, 683, 921.

202 **Columbus, Christopher.** HIS OWN BOOK OF PRIVILEGES, 1502. Translated by George F. Barwick; introduction by Henry Harrisse; edited by B. F. Stevens. London, 1893. This is a photographic facsimile of the old manuscript mentioned on page 204 of this volume, and often spoken of as *The Columbus Codex*. An interesting review of the book and the story of the four original copies are printed in *The Nation*, vol. 59(1896), p. 68. Since then, what is believed to be one of the four copies (the one that Edward Everett obtained) has been secured (1901) by the Library of Congress at Washington. See section **283.**

203 **Columbus, Christopher.** HIS SIGNATURE, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 9(1883), p. 55.

204 **De Mosley, Otto.** MEMOIR ON THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 28(1892), p. 358.

205 **Dunlop, A. P.** THE REAL CHARACTER OF COLUMBUS, in *The Arena*, vol. 6(1892), p. 603.

206 **Dutto, L. A.** THE BIRTH-PLACE OF COLUMBUS, in *Catholic World*, vol. 54(1891–92), pp. 478–652.

207 **Dutto, L. A.** LAS CASAS' NARRATIVE, in *Catholic World*, vol. 56(1892–93), p. 40.

208 **Ford, Paul L.** THE WRITINGS OF COLUMBUS. New York, 1892.

209 **Harrison, Frederic.** THE MEANING OF HISTORY. New York, 1896.

210 **Harrisse, Henry.** DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF AMERICA: ITS FIRST CHAPTER (London, 1897), chap. 1. At the end of the book is a list of Harrisse's works, many of which are written in French. Of all the investigators in the study of the Columbian era, Harrisse has been the most indefatigable. No earnest student of that history can afford to ignore these contributions.

211 **Harrisse, Henry.** Discovery of North America (London, 1892), pp. 77–101, 651–661. Monumental and almost indispensable.

212 **Humboldt, Friedrich H. A. von.** Cosmos (New York, 1863, 5 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 228–301.

213 **Lawrence, Eugene.** The Mystery of Columbus, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 84(1892), p. 728.

214 **Major, Richard H.** Select Letters of Columbus with other Original Documents, in Hakluyt Society *Publications*, 1870.

215 **Markham, Clements R.** Columbus (London, 1892), pp. 1–63.

216 **O'Shea, J. J.** The Apotheosis of Christopher Columbus, in *Catholic World*, vol. 57(1893), p. 151.

217 **Ruge, S.** Columbus, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 85(1892), p. 681.

218 **Thacher, John B.** The Continent of America. New York, 1896.

219 **Thacher, John B.** Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains. New York, 1903–1904, 3 vols. A storehouse of the raw materials that throw light upon the career of Columbus.

220 **Vignaud, Henry.** Toscanelli and Columbus. New York and London, 1902.

221 **Winsor, Justin.** Columbus and his Discoveries, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 2, chap. 1.

222 Bibliography of the Discovery of Columbus. The principal guides to the original and secondary sources for the study of the career of Columbus are as follows:

(*a*) Bump, Charles W. *Bibliographies of the Discovery of America*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, series 10, appendix to Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 519–532.

(*b*) Fumagalli, Giuseppe. *Bibliografia degli scritti italiani e stampati in Italia sopra Cristoforo Colombo.* Rome, 1893.

(*c*) Fumagalli, Giuseppe. *Cataloghi di Biblioteche e Indici Bibliografica.* Florence, 1887.

(*d*) Harrisse, Henry. *Christophe Colomb.* Paris, 1884, 2 vols.

(*e*) Harrisse, Henry. *Notes on Columbus.* New York, 1866.

(*f*) Winsor, Justin. *Columbian Bibliography*, in *The Nation*, vol. 49(1889), p. 397, and vol. 52(1891), p. 297.

(*g*) Winsor, Justin, in Winsor's *Columbus* (195), chaps. 1, 2.

(*h*) Winsor, Justin, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 1, introduction, and vol. 2, introduction and chap. 1.

Note.—Some of the works just mentioned are rare, but all of them are in the Lenox Library Building of the New York Public Library. Among the other "sources" relating to Columbus and to be found in the same rich collection of Americana are the ponderous tome, *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877); Martin F.

Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viages* (Madrid, 1825–37, 5 vols.; a French edition was printed at Paris in 1828); the two large volumes published by the duchess de Berwick y de Alba, containing valuable manuscripts in her archives, viz., *Autógrafos de Cristóbal Colón y Papeles de América* (Madrid, 1892), and *Nuevos Autógrafos de Cristóbal Colón y Relaciones de Ultramar* (Madrid, 1902; this series contains several of Columbus's letters which had been considered as lost since their sudden disappearance in the sixteenth century); and the fine series of folio volumes entitled *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi; pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Columbiana pel quarto Centenario dalla Scoperta dell' America* (Rome, 1892–96), published under the auspices of the Italian minister of public instruction. This series includes, among others, the Writings of Columbus; Diplomatic Documents; Narration of the Discovery; Documents relative to Columbus and his Family; Life of Toscanelli; Naval Construction of the Fifteenth Century; and a treatise on the magnetic needle. The writings of Columbus here brought together from various places are, of course, of first importance. In 1842, Navarrete began the long series entitled *Coleccion de Documentos inéditos* (continued after his death two years later), in which Las Casas's *Historia*, another leading source-book, first appeared in print. See section **219**.

CHAPTER VIII — COLUMBUS'S FIRST VOYAGE

NOTE.—See the note on page 373, and sections **25, 104, 111, 123, 146, 176, 180, 195, 198, 199, 215, 219, 220, 221.**

223 **Adams, Charles K.** SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES CONCERNING COLUMBUS, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1891, p. 89, and in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 27 (1892), p. 161.

224 **Blake, H. A.** WHERE DID COLUMBUS FIRST LAND IN 1492? in *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 32 (1892), p. 536.

225 **Brinton, D. G., Curtis, William E.,** and **Luce, S. B.** *Reports* on Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, 1892 (Washington, 1895), p. 244.

226 **Brooks, W. K.** ON THE LUCAYAN INDIANS, in the *Memoirs* of the National Academy of Sciences (Washington, 1889), vol. 4, part 2, p. 215.

227 **Columbus, Christopher.** JOURNAL OF COLUMBUS DURING HIS FIRST VOYAGE. Translation, Clements R. Markham, editor, Hakluyt Society *Publications*. London, 1893. Navarrete found an abridgment of the journal kept by Columbus on his first voyage. This abridgment, which was in the handwriting of Las Casas, he printed in his *Coleccion de los Viages* (**222**, note). The best English

version is that here cited. For an extract relating to Cuba, see *Old South Leaflets* (**155**), vol. 5, No. 102, p. 25, and Hart's *Contemporaries* (**145**), vol. 1, p. 35.

228 **Columbus, Christopher.** Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, in *Old South Leaflets* (**155**), No. 33. Fully fifteen contemporary printed editions of this letter, nine in Latin, five in Italian verse, and a German version, are known. Most of these are represented by several extant copies and nearly all of them are obtainable in reprint or facsimile. The only perfect copy of the Basel (Latin) illustrated edition is in the Lenox Library Building of the New York Public Library.

229 **Columbus, Christopher.** Letter to Luis de Sant Angel, in *American History Leaflets* (**126**), No. 1. Also see Higginson's *Explorers* (**146**), pp. 19–26, and Winsor's *America* (**38**), vol. 2, pp. 46–51. Two contemporary Spanish editions of this letter are known, one in folio and one in quarto. Only one copy of each is extant, the former in the Lenox Library Building of the New York Public Library, and the latter in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, Italy.

230 **Cooper, James F.** Mercedes of Castile. New York, 1883.

231 **Cronau, Rudolf.** Amerika (Leipsic, 1892, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 209–222. Concerning the location of the landfall. Also see Thacher's *Columbus* (**219**), chaps. 58, 59.

232 **Curtis, William E.** Christopher Columbus — His Portraits and Monuments. Chicago, 1893.

233 **Dutto, L. A.** Columbus in Portugal, in *Catholic World*, vol. 55(1892), p. 44; Columbus in Spain, p. 210; and Columbus and La Rabida, p. 639.

234 **Fox, Capt. G. V.** An Attempt to Solve the Problem of the First Landing Place of Columbus in the New World (with map), in *Report* of United States Coast and Geodetic Survey for 1880–81, p. 346.

235 **Hart, Albert B.** Source Book of American History (New York, 1899), p. 1.

236 **Harvey, Arthur.** The Enterprise of Christopher Columbus, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 27(1892), pp. 1, 98.

237 **Mackie, Charles P.** With the Admiral of the Ocean Sea. Chicago, 1891.

238 **Paton, William A.** The Lost "Landfall" of Columbus, in *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. 48(1891), p. 502.

239 **Scaife, Walter B.** America; Its Geographical History (Baltimore, 1892), lecture 1.

240 Story of the Discovery of America, The, from the life of Columbus by his son, in *Old South Leaflets* (**155**), No. 29.

241 Bibliographical Account of the Voyages of Columbus, in *Historical Magazine*, vol. 5(1861), p. 33. Also see *Bibliography of the Discovery of Columbus* (**222**).

CHAPTER IX — DIPLOMACY AND PREPARATION

NOTE. — See the note on page 373, and sections **25 104, 108, 111, 139, 180, 195, 199, 210, 221.**

242 **Alexander VI.** THE BULL OF DEMARCATION. English translation, in Hart's *Contemporaries* **145**, vol. 1, p. 40.

243 **Bourne, Edward G.** THE LINE OF DEMARCATION, in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1891, p. 103; and in *Yale Review*, vol. 1, No. 1 1892.

244 **Columbus, Christopher.** MEMORIAL TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA ON HIS SECOND VOYAGE, in *Old South Leaflets* **155**, No. 71.

245 **Dawson, Samuel E.** THE LINE OF DEMARCATION AND THE TREATY OF TORDESILLAS, 1494, in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (Ottawa, 1899), second series, vol. 5, sec. 2, p. 467.

246 **Doyle, J. A.** ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA (New York, 1889, 3 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 33, 407. Concerning the casa de contratacion.

247 **Moses, Bernard.** THE CASA DE CONTRATACION OF SEVILLE, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1894, p. 93.

248 **Moses, Bernard.** THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPANISH RULE IN AMERICA (New York and London, 1898), chap. 2.

249 **Scaife, Walter B.** THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, in *Papers* of the American Historical Association, vol. 4 (1890), p. 269.

250 **Toner, J. M.** COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1895, p. 515; text of the treaty of Tordesillas, p. 524.

CHAPTER X — COLUMBUS'S SECOND VOYAGE

NOTE. — See the note on page 373, and sections **25, 104, 111, 123, 139, 146, 176, 180, 188, 195, 198, 199, 208, 214, 215, 221.**

251 **Chanca, Doctor** (physician to the fleet on this voyage). LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE CHAPTER OF SEVILLE, in Major's *Select Letters of Columbus* (**214**). The text was first printed in Navarrete (**222**, note).

252 The original sources for Columbus's second voyage are few and some of them are not easily accessible. The following may be found in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building):

(*a*) Bernaldez, Andres. *Chronica de los Reyes Catolicos* (460 leaves, folio). Bernaldez was a friend of the great admiral. After his return from his first voyage, Columbus was his guest and related to him the particulars of his discovery. Ternaux says that the

"chronicle contains a mass of information relating to this great man which would be in vain sought for elsewhere." Two papers at the end of this work, called *Prologo* and *Addiciones*, seem to relate to it, but they do not appear in the first printed edition (1856) next mentioned. *Historia de los Reyes Católicos.* Granada, 1856, 2 vols. Edited by Miguel Lafuente y Alcantara. Reprinted at Seville in 1870. Extracts from the original manuscripts are printed in *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, third series, vol. 8 (Boston, 1843), pp. 5–68.

(*b*) Scillacio, Niccolo. *De Insulis Meridiani atque Indici Maris nuper inventis* (printed probably in 1494 or 1495). This is one of the chief sources for the history of the second voyage. Only five copies are known to be extant. Mr. James Lenox issued privately a reprint and translation of it in 1859. The facsimile page printed on page 165 of this volume is from the Lenox original. The Scillacio tract was for the first time issued in facsimile a few years ago by Leo S. Olschki of Florence, Italy. Another facsimile is given with translation and critical apparatus in Thacher's *Columbus* (**219**), vol. 2, pp. 223–242.

(*c*) Navarrete, Martin F. de. The *Coleccion de los Viages* (**222**, note) contains some contemporary documents, including a *Memorial . . . 30 de Enero de 1494, á Antonio de Torres.* The *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi* (**222**, note), vol. 1, part 1, pp. 139–268, contains the *Journal of Columbus* in his second voyage. The *Fonti Italiane per la Storia della scoperta del Nuovo Mondo* (Rome, 1893, folio), vol. 2, contains various letters from Peter Martyr. Las Casas's *Historia* (**222**, note) refers to some points in the account of the second voyage.

CHAPTER XI — DA GAMA AND CABOT

NOTE.— See the note on page 373, and sections **10, 25, 104, 108, 109, 123, 146, 171, 176, 192, 195, 211, 215, 244.**

253 **Beazley, C. Raymond.** JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT. New York, 1898.

254 **Bourinot, Sir John G.** THE MAKERS OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA, in *Canadian Magazine*, vol. 10(1897), p. 7.

255 **Cabot, John.** CONTEMPORARY CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO HIS DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, in *Old South Leaflets* (**155**), No. 115, vol. 5, p. 301.

256 **Dawson, Samuel E.** THE VOYAGES OF THE CABOTS, in *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada (Ottawa, 1897), second series, vol. 3. Also similar papers similarly published in 1894 and 1896.

257 **Dawson, Samuel E.** MEMORANDUM UPON THE CABOT MAP, in *Report on Canadian Archives* (Ottawa, 1898), pp. 102–105.

258 **Deane, Charles.** The Voyages of the Cabots, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 3, chap. 1. Also see references to the Cabot map in *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, second series, vol. 6, pp. 305–339.

259 Documents Describing the Voyage of John Cabot in 1497, in *American History Leaflets* (126), No. 9. Also see *Old South Leaflets* (155), No. 37, and Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 69. The letters patent from Henry VII. to the Cabots are given in Jones's *Hakluyt* (109), pp. 18–27.

260 **Harrisse, Henry.** The Cabots, in *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada (Ottawa, 1898), second series, vol. 4, p. 103.

261 **Harrisse, Henry.** Did Cabot Return from his Second Voyage? in *American Historical Review*, vol. 1(1896), p. 717; vol. 3(1898), p. 449; vol. 4(1898), p. 38.

262 **Harrisse, Henry.** John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America, and Sebastian, his Son. London, 1897.

263 **Harrisse, Henry.** The Outcome of the Cabot Quater-Centenary, in *American Historical Review*, vol. 4(1898), p. 38.

264 **Harrisse, Henry.** When did John Cabot Discover North America? in *The Forum*, vol. 23(1897), p. 463.

265 **Harrisse, Henry.** The Discovery of North America by John Cabot. London, 1897.

266 **Higginson, Thomas W.** The Old English Seamen, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 66(1883), p. 217.

267 **Hildreth, Richard.** History of the United States (New York, 1877, 6 vols.), vol. 1, p. 34.

268 **Howley, M. F.** Cabot's Landfall, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 26(1891), p. 267.

269 **Howley, M. F.** Cabot's Voyages. Saint Johns, Newfoundland, 1897.

270 **Lodge, Henry C.** The Cabots and the Discovery of America. London and Bristol, 1897.

271 **Lodge, Henry C.** The Home of the Cabots, in *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 41(1897), p. 734. Answered by George M. Wrong in *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* (Toronto, 1898), p. 35.

272 **Major, Richard H.** John and Sebastian Cabot, Date of their Discovery, in *Archæologia*, vol. 43(1871), p. 17.

273 **Pope, J.** The Cabot Celebration, in *Canadian Magazine*, vol. 8(1896), p. 158.

274 **Porter, Edward G.** The Cabot Celebrations of 1897, in *New England Magazine*, vol. 17(1898), p. 653.

275 **Prowse, D. W.** The Discovery of Newfoundland by John Cabot, 1497. Saint Johns, Newfoundland, 1897.

276 **Ravenstein, E. G.** A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama. London, 1898. A Hakluyt Society *Publication*.

277 **Weare, G. E.** CABOT'S DISCOVERY OF NORTH AMERICA. London, 1897.

278 **Winship, George P.** SEBASTIAN CABOT, in *Geographical Journal*, vol. 13(1899), p. 204.

279 BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THE CABOTIAN LITERATURE are numerous and exhaustive. Among them may be mentioned Bump's *Cabot Bibliography* (**222**, *a*); Winsor's *Cabotiana to 1894*, in *The Nation*, vol. 57(1893), p. 433; George P. Winship's *Cabot Bibliography*, in the *Publications* of the Providence, Rhode Island, Public Library, 1897 (published separately in 1898); and the list given in the appendix to Harrisse's *John Cabot* (**262**). The most complete of these works is George P. Winship's *Cabot Bibliography with an Introductory Essay on the Careers of the Cabots* (New York and London, 1900). In this book, the whole literature of the subject is thoroughly threshed out.

CHAPTER XII — COLUMBUS'S THIRD VOYAGE

NOTE.— See the note on page 373, and sections **10, 25, 104, 111, 123, 146, 176, 180, 188, 195, 199, 208, 215, 221.**

280 **Batalha-Reis, J.** THE SUPPOSED DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AMERICA BEFORE 1448, in *Geographical Journal*, [London,] vol. 9(1897), p. 185.

281 **Columbus, Christopher.** LETTER TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, is printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viages* (**222**, note), and also by Major (**214**) who accompanied the text by an English translation. The manuscript from the archives of the Duke del Infantado is in the handwriting of Las Casas.

282 **Columbus, Christopher.** LETTER TO THE NURSE OF PRINCE JOHN. One manuscript copy is in the archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid; another is extant in the Columbus Custodia at Genoa — included in the *Columbus Codex* mentioned below (**283**). This letter is also printed with the one above mentioned (**281**). This "nurse" was Dona Juana de la Torre, sister of Pierre de Torres, one of the royal secretaries, and of Antonio de Torres, a companion of Columbus on his second voyage.

283 COLUMBUS CODEX, A. An illustrated article by Herbert Putnam, the librarian of congress, in *The Critic*, vol. 42(1903), p. 244. It tells the story of the four sets of transcripts and discusses the probability that the copy now in the library of congress is one of the three parchment volumes prepared under the personal supervision of the great discoverer. See section **202.** The fullest account of the "Book of Privileges," in its various manuscripts and ramifications, is given in Thacher's *Columbus* (**219**), vol. 2, pp. 530–565.

284 **Gilliam, E. W.** The French Colony of San Domingo, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 20(1888), p. 471.

Note. — A letter of Jaime Ferrer, a lapidary of Blanes, a seaport of Spain, dated August 5, 1495, and addressed to Columbus, is printed in Navarrete (**222**, note), and (with an English translation) in Thacher's *Columbus* (**219**), vol. 2, pp. 365–369. Las Casas gives an unusually full narrative of the third voyage in his *Historia* (**222**, note). For an annotated English translation, collated from different manuscripts, see Thacher's *Columbus* (**219**), vol. 2, pp. 374–408. A very rare publication relating to the third voyage is known briefly as "The Libretto," from its title which reads: *Libretto de tutta la Navigatione de Re de Spagna de le Isole et Terreni novamente trovati*, printed at Venice in 1504. It is a tract of twenty-nine unnumbered pages, and the only known copy belongs to the San Marco Library of Venice. The first facsimile ever issued is given with an English translation in Thacher's *Columbus* (**219**), vol. 2, pp. 439–514.

CHAPTER XIII — VOYAGES OF THE CORTEREALS

Note. — See the note on page 373, and sections **10, 25, 104, 109, 123, 138, 211, 215, 227.**

285 **Dexter, George.** Cortereal, in Winsor's *America* (**38**), vol. 4, p. 1.

286 **Patterson, George.** A Lost Chapter in American History, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 25(1891), p. 375.

287 The Sources for the Cortereal voyages are in a way summarized in Winsor's *America* (**38**), vol. 4, p. 12. The best modern works, based upon a critical and scholarly examination of the original materials, are three by Henry Harrisse, as follows:

(*a*) *Les Corte-Real et leurs Voyages au Nouveau-Monde.* Paris, 1883. The Cantino map is here reproduced for the first time.

(*b*) *Gaspar Corte-Real la Date exacte de sa dernière Expédition au Nouveau-Monde.* Paris, 1883.

(*c*) *Voyages of the Corte-Reals, 1500–1502 and before.* This covers pp. 59 et seq. of his *Discovery of North America* (**211**). The Cantino map is repeated in this volume, reduced.

288 The Cantino Map, 1502. This important map, named from Alberto Cantino, envoy of Hercules d'Este, duke of Ferrara, to the court of Portugal, measures 86½ by 39⅜ inches. We are indebted to Harrisse for interpreting and first publishing it, although its existence was previously known. The English reader can find an account of it in Thacher's *America* (**218**), pp. 205, 206.

289 The Voyage of Miguel Cortereal in search of his brother, Gaspar, is dependent principally upon the following sources:

(*a*) Damian de Goes. *Chronica do Rei dom Emanuel*, chap. 66.

(*b*) Galvaõ, Antonio. *Tratado que compõs o nobre e notauel capitaõ Antonio Galvaõ* [Lisbon, 1563]. There is a copy of this very rare original in the John Carter Brown collection at Providence, Rhode Island. The work was reprinted at Lisbon in 1731. A copy of this edition is in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building). An English translation was published under the auspices of Richard Hakluyt at London in 1601. A new edition of this translation with the original text added was edited for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1862, by Vice-admiral Bethune.

CHAPTER XIV — COLUMBUS'S FOURTH VOYAGE

NOTE.— See the note on page 373, and sections **25, 104, 111, 123, 146, 176, 188, 195, 198, 215, 221, 248.**

290 **Belloy, Marquis de.** CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD. Philadelphia, 1889. Favors the canonization of Columbus.

291 **Brevoort, J. Carson.** WHERE ARE THE REMAINS OF COLUMBUS? in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 2(1878), p. 157.

292 **Bump, Charles W.** PUBLIC MEMORIALS TO COLUMBUS, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, series 10, p. 533.

293 COLUMBIAN FRUITION, THE, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 78(1896), p. 557. A discussion of sources.

294 **Columbus, Christopher.** LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN KINGS (February 6, 1502), in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 9 (1883), p. 53.

295 **Columbus, Christopher.** LETTER TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN — THE THIRST FOR GOLD, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 44.

296 COLUMBUS MEMORIAL VOLUME. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago, 1893. Published by the Catholic Club of New York and the United States Catholic Historical Society.

297 **Lombroso, C.** WAS COLUMBUS MORALLY IRRESPONSIBLE? in *The Forum*, vol. 27(1899), p. 537.

298 The direct extant contemporary sources for Columbus's fourth voyage are few. A relation by Columbus, mentioned by him in a letter that he wrote on December 27, 1504, has been lost; and several other letters that he wrote at Dominica and other points during his voyage cannot be traced. Columbus set sail on his return voyage September 12, 1504, and arrived at San Lucar on November 7 of that year. In a letter addressed by him to Ferdinand and Isabella, he gives details of his voyage up to July 7, 1503. The original Spanish manuscript is no longer extant, but Navarrete found an early transcript of about the middle of the sixteenth century. It is printed in his *Coleccion* (**222**, note), vol. 1, pp. 296–313, and, in better form with notes, as document xxxxi (p. 175) of *Scritti di Colombo*, edited by Cesare de Lollis (Rome,

1894), vol. 2. Major inserted the Spanish text and an English translation in his *Select Letters of Columbus* (**214**). No contemporary printed edition of the Spanish text is known; but an Italian translation was published at Venice in 1505, a small quarto tract of eight leaves (the last being blank) printed in Gothic characters. The only known copy is in the Marciana in Venice. It is entitled *Copia de la lettera per Columbo mandata ali Sere^mi Re & Regina di Spagna.* The librarian of Saint Mark's, Venice, reproduced it in 1810 with valuable comments as *Lettera rarissima di Christoforo Colombo.* By this title it has since been best known and most often quoted. A complete facsimile, accompanied by an English translation and notes, is given in Thacher's *Columbus* (**219**), vol. 2, pp. 669–699.

299 Other sources for the fourth voyage are:

(*a*) A valuable document of Diego de Porras, in Navarrete, vol. 1, pp. 277–296; English in Thacher's *Columbus* (**219**), vol. 2, pp. 640–646.

(*b*) *Relacion* of Diego Mendez, in Navarrete, vol. 1, pp. 314–329; English in Thacher's *Columbus* (**219**), vol. 2, pp. 647–668.

(*c*) D'Anghiera's (i.e., Peter Martyr's) *Decades*, 1516, which is reprinted in *Scritti di Colombo*, vol. 2, p. 206, where other documents on this voyage are given.

(*d*) Fernando Columbus's *Historie.*

(*e*) Las Casas's *Historia.*

CHAPTER XV — VESPUCIUS AND "AMERICA"

NOTE.— See the note on page 373, and sections **10, 25, 104, 108, 109, 111, 123, 138, 180, 195, 211, 215, 219, 237.**

300 **Gay, Sydney H.** AMERIGO VESPUCCI, in Winsor's *America* (**38**), vol. 2, chap. 2.

301 **Gay, Sydney H.** HOW AMERICA WAS NAMED, in *Scribner's Monthly*, vol. 12(1876), p. 222, and in Bryant and Gay's *United States* (**10**), vol. 1, p. 122.

302 **Marcou, J.** AMERRIQUES, AMERIGHO VESPUCCI AND AMERICA, in *Report* of Smithsonian Institution, 1888, p. 647.

303 **Marcou, J.** ORIGIN OF THE NAME AMERICA, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 35(1875), p. 291. Justifies name "America."

304 **Oldham, E. A.** AMERICA MUST BE CALLED COLUMBIA, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 27(1892), p. 427.

305 **Santarem, Viscount of.** RESEARCHES RESPECTING AMERICUS VESPUCIUS AND HIS VOYAGES. Boston, 1850.

306 **Varnhagen, F. A. de.** NOUVELLES RÉCHERCHES (Vienna, 1869), and other works on Vespucius. See Fiske's *Discovery of America* (**104**), vol. 2, p. 26, note, and Winsor's *America* (**38**), vol. 2, p. 156.

307 **Vespucius, Americus.** First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, in facsimile and with translation. Quaritch. London, 1893. The Soderini letter. Another edition of the *Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and other Documents*, translated by Clements R. Markham, was published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1894. For an account of his alleged first voyage, see *Old South Leaflets* (155), No. 34; for an account of his third voyage, see No. 90 of the same series.

308 **Wilson, W. S.** Autograph Manuscript of Vespucius, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 29(1893), p. 169.

309 **Winsor, Justin.** Notes on Vespucius and the Naming of America, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 2, pp. 153–179.

310 **Winsor, Justin.** A Vespucian Fraud, in *The Nation*, vol. 56 (1893), p. 234.

CHAPTER XVI — BALBOA AND MAGELLAN

Note.— See the note on page 373, and the sections indicated under the subheads below.

BALBOA

See sections **10, 109, 111, 215.**

311 **Bancroft, Hubert Howe.** Central America (San Francisco, 1882, 3 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 8, 9, and 12.

312 **Harwell, Francis.** Vasco Nunez de Balboa, in *Littell's Living Age*, vol. 46(1855), p. 492.

313 **Headley, J. T.** Vasco Nunez de Balboa, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 18(1859), p. 467.

314 **Higginson, Thomas W.** The Spanish Discoverers, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 65(1882), p. 736.

315 **Simms, W. Gilmore.** The Damsel of Darien. Philadelphia, 1839, 2 vols.

316 **Warburton, E. B. G.** Darien. Leipsic, 1853.

317 **Watson, R. G.** Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period (London, 1884, 2 vols.), chaps. 2, 3.

MAGELLAN

318 **Guillemard, Francis H. H.** Life of Ferdinand Magellan. New York, 1890, and London, 1891.

319 **Hale, Edward E.** Magellan and the Pacific, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 81(1890), p. 357.

320 **Hale, Edward E.** Magellan's Discovery, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 2, chap. 9.

321 **Hinsdale, B. A.** The First Circumnavigation of the Earth, in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly*, vol. 1(1887), p. 164.

322 **Stanley of Alderley.** First Voyage round the World, by

Magellan. Translated from the accounts of Pigafetta and other contemporary writers. London, 1874. A *Publication* of the Hakluyt Society.

323 **Stevens, Henry.** Historical and Geographical Notes on the Early Discoveries in America. New Haven, 1869.

324 **Stevens, Henry.** Johann Schoener. London, 1888.

GENERAL

See sections **25, 104, 123, 237.**

325 **Channing, Edward.** The Companions of Columbus, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 2, chap. 3.

326 Encyclopædia Britannica (ninth edition). See articles on *Globe*, *Balboa*, and *Magellan*.

CHAPTER XVII — CORTES, PONCE DE LEON, AND LAS CASAS

Note. — See the note on page 373, and the sections indicated under the subheads below.

CORTES

327 **Abbott, J. S. C.** Hernando Cortez. New York, 1856.

328 **Bancroft, Hubert H.** Mexico (San Francisco, 1883, 5 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 4.

329 **Bancroft, Hubert H.** North Mexican States (San Francisco, 1884, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 1–3.

330 **Cortes, Hernando.** Account of the City of Mexico, from his second letter to Charles V., in *Old South Leaflets* (155), No. 35.

331 **Eggleston, Edward.** Montezuma. New York, 1880.

332 **Gomara, Francisco Lopez de.** How Cortes Took Montezuma Prisoner, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 49.

333 **Hale, Susan.** Mexico (New York, 1889), chap. 13.

334 **Helps, Arthur.** Hernando Cortez. New York, 1871.

335 **Winsor, Justin.** Cortés and his Companions, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 2, chap. 6.

PONCE DE LEON

See sections **108, 200, 211, 246, 267.**

336 **Brower, J. V.** The Mississippi River and its Source (Minneapolis, 1893), pp. 14–37. This work constitutes vol. 7 of the Minnesota *Historical Collections*.

337 **Fairbanks, George R.** The History and Antiquities of St. Augustine (New York, 1855), p. 557. Republished at Jacksonville, Florida, in 1868, under the title of *The Spaniards in Florida*.

LAS CASAS

338 **Clinch, Bryan J.** Bartholomew Las Casas, in *American Catholic Quarterly*, vol. 24(1899), No. 3, p. 102.

339 **Ellis, George E.** Las Casas, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 2, chap. 5.

340 **Helps, Arthur.** Life of Las Casas. Philadelphia, 1868.

GENERAL

See sections **10, 25, 47, 58, 104, 111, 123, 239, 311, 317.**

341 **Bandelier, Adolph F. A.** The Gilded Man (El Dorado) and other Pictures of the Spanish Occupancy. New York, 1893 and 1905.

342 **Blackmar, F. W.** Spanish Colonial Policy, in *Publications* of American Economic Association, third series, vol. 1(1900), pp. 500–516, 531.

343 **Blackmar, F. W.** Spanish Colonization in the Southwest, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, eighth series, No. 4.

344 **Blackmar, F. W.** Spanish Institutions of the Southwest, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, extra vol. 10(1891), pp. 49–77.

345 **Cutler, H. G.** Romance of the Map of the United States, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 23(1890), p. 288.

346 **Helps, Arthur.** The Spanish Conquest of America. London, 1900–04, 4 vols.

347 **Lummis, Charles F.** Spanish Pioneers in the American Colonies of Spain. Chicago, 1893.

348 **Ogg, Frederic A.** The Opening of the Mississippi. New York, 1904.

349 **Parkman, Francis.** Pioneers of France in the New World (Boston, 1886), chap. 1.

350 **Shea, J. G.** Ancient Florida, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 2, pp. 231–238.

CHAPTER XVIII—EAST COAST EXPLORATION

Note.—See the note on page 373, and sections **10, 25, 104, 109, 123, 146, 176, 195, 200, 211, 246, 350.**

351 **Brevoort, J. Carson.** Verrazano, the First Explorer of the Atlantic Coast, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 8 (1882), p. 481.

352 **Brevoort, J. Carson.** Verrazano, the Navigator. New York, 1874.

353 **De Costa, Benjamin F.** Explorations of the North American Coast, in *National Magazine*, vol. 15(1891), p. 1. Also see his article under a similar title in Wilson's *Memorial History of the City of New-York* (New York, 1892, 4 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 1.

354 **De Costa, Benjamin F.** Verrazano, the Explorer. New York, 1880.

355 **De Costa, Benjamin F.** The Verrazano Voyage, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 2(1878), p. 257; the *Verrazano Map*, p. 449.

356 **Dexter, George.** Cortereal, Verrazano, Gomez and Thevet, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 4, pp. 4–9.

357 **Fiske, John.** Dutch and Quaker Colonies (Boston and New York, 1899, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 56–80.

358 **Kohl, J. G.** Discovery of Maine, in the Maine Historical Society *Publications*, second series, vol. 1 (Documentary History), chap. 4. See Larned's *History for Ready Reference*, vol. 1, pp. 51–54.

359 **Lescarbot, Marc.** The Myth of Norumbega, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 118.

360 **Murphy, Henry C.** Voyage of Verrazano. New York, 1875.

361 **Verrazano, John.** Relation of his Voyage to the North American Continent, in *Collections* of the New York Historical Society (1841), second series, vol. 1, p. 37. Also see Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 102, and *Old South Leaflets* (155), No. 17, and Asher's *Henry Hudson* (London, 1860), appendix.

362 **Winsor, Justin.** Cartography of the Northeast Coast of North America, 1535–1600, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 4, chap. 2, pp. 81–103.

CHAPTER XIX — SPANISH EXPLORATIONS

Note. — See the note on page 373, and the sections indicated under the subheads below.

CABEZA DE VACA

363 **Bandelier, Adolph F. A.** Cabeza de Vaca, in *Magazine of Western History*, vol. 4(1886), p. 327. Also see his Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States, in *Papers* of the Archæological Institute of America, vol. 5, American series, New York, 1890.

364 **Cabeza de Vaca.** Relacion; translated by Buckingham Smith, New York, 1891. Extracts are given in *Old South Leaflets* (155), No. 39.

365 **Coopwood, Bethel.** The Route of Cabeza de Vaca, in *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, vol. 3(1899), Nos. 2, 3, 4, and vol. 4(1900), No. 1.

DE SOTO

366 **Abbott, J. S. C.** De Soto. New York, 1873.

367 **Biedma, Luis Hernandez de.** Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto, in B. F. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (New York, 1846–53, first series, 5 vols.), vol. 2, p. 97.

368 **De Soto, Hernando.** Letter on the Conquest of Florida, in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (**367**), vol. 2, p. 91.

369 **Gentleman of Elvas, The.** Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto into Florida. Published at Evora, 1557. Translated from the Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt, London, 1609. Printed in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (**367**), vol. 2, p. 113. Also see Hart's *Contemporaries* (**145**), vol. 1, p. 57, and *Old South Leaflets* (**155**), No. 36; Peter Force's *Tracts and other Papers* (Washington, 1836, 4 vols.), vol. 4, No. 1; and Hakluyt (**109**), vol. 14. A relation, previously overlooked, was recently found, in Oviedo, by Prof. Edward G. Bourne.

370 **Irving, Theodore.** The Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto. New York, 1851.

371 **King, Grace.** De Soto and his Men in the Land of Florida. New York, 1888.

372 **Lewis, T. H.** Route of De Soto's Expedition, in *Publications* of the Mississippi Historical Society, vol. 6(1902), p. 449.

373 **Mooney, James.** Myths of the Cherokees, in nineteenth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1901. The historical sketch and the notes thereon.

374 **Shipp, Bernard.** The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida. Philadelphia, 1881.

CORONADO

See sections **109, 329, 343, 344**.

375 **Bancroft, Hubert H.** Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco, 1889), chaps. 1–3.

376 **Brower, J. V.** Harahey. Saint Paul, 1899. This is vol. 2 of *Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi.* It contains a valuable bibliography relating to Coronado, and indicates the location of Quivira accepted by each writer.

377 **Brower, J. V.** Quivira. Saint Paul, 1898. This is vol. 1 of *Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi.* It locates the ancient village sites of Quivira at the great chert-beds south of the Kansas River.

378 **Coronado, Francisco de.** Letter to Charles V., translated from the Spanish by George P. Winship, in *American History Leaflets* (**126**), No. 13.

379 **Coronado, Francisco de.** Letter to Mendoza, August 3, 1540, in *Old South Leaflets* (**155**), No. 20.

380 Coronado's Journey, in Hart's *Source Book* (**235**), p. 6.

381 **Coues, Elliott,** translator and editor. ON THE TRAIL OF A SPANISH PIONEER: THE DIARY AND ITINERARY OF FRANCISCO GARCES. New York, 1900, 2 vols.

382 **Dellenbaugh, Frederick S.** THE TRUE ROUTE OF CORONADO'S MARCH, in *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society, vol. 29(1897), p. 399.

383 **Hale, Edward E.** CORONADO'S DISCOVERY OF THE SEVEN CITIES, in *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1881.

384 **Haynes, Henry W.** ANSWER to Hale's *Coronado's Discovery* (383), in *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, October, 1881. Appended to this essay is a very full account of the literature of the subject.

385 **Haynes, Henry W.** EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF NEW MEXICO, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 2, chap. 7.

386 **Hodge, F. W.** CORONADO'S MARCH TO QUIVIRA, in Brower's *Harahey* (376), pp. 29–73. Mr. Hodge accepts Mr. Brower's identification of the site of the first village of Quivira, which they locate about half a mile northeast of the mouth of Walnut Creek and about four miles east of the city of Great Bend in Barton County, Kansas.

387 **Jaramillo, Juan.** FIRST EXPEDITION TO KANSAS AND NEBRASKA, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 60.

388 **Mooney, James.** QUIVIRA AND THE WICHITAS, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 99(1899), p. 126.

389 **Morgan, Lewis H.** THE SEVEN CITIES OF CIBOLA, in *North American Review*, vol. 108(1869), p. 457.

390 **Simpson, J. H.** CORONADO'S MARCH, in *Report* of the Smithsonian Institution, 1869, p. 300.

391 **Thomas, Cyrus.** QUIVIRA; A SUGGESTION, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 10(1883), p. 490.

392 **Winship, George P.** THE CORONADO EXPEDITION, in fourteenth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology, part 1, pp. 339–613. Translation of the account of the journey to Cibola, with an elaborate bibliography of the subject. A revised translation (by the same editor) has been separately printed: New York, 1904.

393 **Winship, George P.** WHY CORONADO WENT TO NEW MEXICO IN 1540, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1894, pp. 83–92.

GENERAL

See sections **10, 104, 108, 109, 146, 200, 211, 239, 246, 267, 347, 349, 350.**

394 **Bandelier, Adolph F. A.** THE DISCOVERY OF NEW MEXICO BY FRAY MARCOS, in *Magazine of Western History*, vol. 4 (1880), p. 659.

395 **Bandelier, Adolph F. A.** Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico, in *Papers* of the Archæological Institute of America, American series, No. 1, Boston, 1881.
396 **Crafts, W. A.** Pioneers in the Settlement of America (Boston, 1876), vol. 1, chaps. 2, 3.
397 **Davis, W. H. H.** Spanish Conquest of New Mexico. Doylestown, Pennsylvania, 1869.
398 **Johnson, William H.** Pioneer Spaniards in North America. Boston, 1903.
399 **Jones, Charles C.** History of Georgia. Boston, 1883, 2 vols.
400 **Lowery, Woodbury.** The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States. New York, 1901.

CHAPTER XX — THE PIONEERS OF NEW FRANCE

Note.—See the note on page 373, and the sections indicated under the third subhead below.

CARTIER

401 **Bell, Andrew.** History of Canada (Montreal, 1866, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 50–70.
402 **Biggar, H. P.** Early Trading Companies of New France (Toronto, 1901), pp. 1–17.
403 **Bourinot, John G.** French Discoveries of Canada, in *Canadian Magazine*, vol. 10(1898), pp. 218, 226, 229, 387, 505.
404 **Bourinot, John G.** The Story of Canada (New York, 1896), chaps. 1–4, and bibliographical notes.
405 **Cartier, Jacques.** The Discovery of the Saint Lawrence, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 107.
406 **De Costa, Benjamin F.** Jacques Cartier and his Successors, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 4, chap. 2.
407 **Hannay, James.** History of Acadia (Saint Johns, 1879), chap. 1.
408 How Cartier's Voyage in 1541 was Regarded in Spain and Portugal, in *Historical Magazine*, vol. 6(1862), p. 14.
409 **Lighthall, W. D.** Montreal, in *New England Magazine*, vol. 19(1898), p. 233.
410 **Longrais, François.** Jacques Cartier. Paris, 1888.
411 **Roberts, Charles G. D.** History of Canada (Boston, 1897), chap. 1.
412 **Shea, John G.** Charlevoix's History of New France (New York, 1866, 6 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 111–338.
413 **Stephens, H. B.** Jacques Cartier. Montreal, 1890.
414 **Walker, Annie.** A Forgotten Hero, in *Littell's Living Age*, vol. 148(1881), p. 102.

415 **Winsor, Justin.** Cartier to Frontenac (Boston and New York, 1894), chap. 2.

RIBAULT AND LAUDONNIÈRE

416 Letter on the Settlement of the First Colony of Huguenots in New France, 1564, in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (1851), vol. 3, p. 197. In the original French. This letter is followed by an account of Ribault's last expedition and the fate of the French colony. Also in the original French.

417 **Lowery, Woodbury.** Jean Ribaut and Queen Elizabeth, in *American Historical Review*, vol. 9(1904), p. 456.

418 **Sparks, Jared.** Life of Ribault. New York, 1854.

419 **Laudonnière, René.** A French Huguenot Colony, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 112.

GENERAL

See sections **10, 104, 108, 109, 123, 146, 200, 211, 239, 267, 284, 349, 350, 373.**

420 **Baird, Charles W.** History of the Huguenot Emigration to America (New York, 1885, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 21–77.

421 **Grajales, Francisco Lopez de Mendoza.** Founding of St. Augustine, in *Old South Leaflets* (155), No. 89.

422 **Higginson, Thomas W.** The French Voyageurs, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 66(1883), p. 505.

423 **Parkman, Francis.** The Fleur-de-lis at Port Royal, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 12(1863), p. 30; The Fleur-de-lis in Florida, p. 225; The Spaniard and the Heretic, p. 537.

424 **Simms, W. Gilmore.** The Lily and the Totem. New York, 1850.

CHAPTER XXI — WESTWARD HO!

Note. — See the note on page 373, and the sections indicated under the third subhead below.

HAWKINS AND DRAKE

425 **Hawkins, John.** An English Free-booter's Adventures, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 75.

426 **Bancroft, Hubert H.** California (San Francisco, 1884, 7 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 80–94.

427 **Bancroft, Hubert H.** Northwest Coast (San Francisco, 1884, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 5, 6.

428 **Barnes, James.** Drake and his Yeomen. New York, 1899.

429 **Corbett, Julian S.** Sir Francis Drake. London, 1890.

430 **Corbett, Julian S.** Sir Francis Drake and the Tudor Navy. London and New York, 1898, 2 vols.

431 **Corbett, Julian S.** The Successors of Drake. London and New York, 1900.

432 **Davidson, George.** Identification of Sir Francis Drake's

ANCHORAGE ON THE COAST OF CALIFORNIA. *Publication* of the California Historical Society, 1890.

433 **Drake, Sir Francis.** THE PIETY OF A SEA ROVER, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 88.

434 **Fletcher, Francis.** THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE (London, 1628), in Purves's *English Circumnavigators* (473); also in Hakluyt Society *Publications*, 1854. An extract from this work relating to *Drake on the California Coast*, and other extracts of like tenor, are given in *Old South Leaflets* (155), vol. 5, No. 116, pp. 313–332.

435 **Hale, Edward E.** HAWKINS AND DRAKE, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 3, chap. 2; also in *Archæologia Americana*, vol. 4 (1860). *Transactions* of the American Antiquarian Society.

436 **Jenner, G.** A SPANISH ACCOUNT OF DRAKE'S VOYAGE, in *English Historical Review*, vol. 16(1901), p. 46.

437 **Pretty, Francis.** THE FAMOUS VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 81.

GILBERT AND RALEGH

438 **Brymner, Douglas.** DEATH OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, in *Proceedings* of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. 2(1896), sec. 2, p. 33.

439 **Drake, Samuel G.** LAST LETTERS OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 13 (1859), p. 197.

440 **Barlowe, Captain Arthur.** FIRST VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 89, and in *Old South Leaflets* (155), No. 92.

441 CHARTER TO RALEGH, 1584, in *American History Leaflets* (126), No. 16.

442 **Bruce, Edward C.** LOUNGINGS IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF THE PIONEERS, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 20(1860), p. 721.

443 **Creighton, Louise.** SIR WALTER RALEIGH. London and New York, 1891.

444 **Gardiner, S. R.** THE CASE AGAINST SIR WALTER RALEGH, in *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 7(1867), p. 602.

445 **Gosse, Edmund.** LIFE OF RALEIGH. London and New York, 1886.

446 **Guiney, Louise.** SIR WALTER RALEGH OF YOUGHAL, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 66(1890), p. 779.

447 **Hale, Edward E.,** editor. ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS from the State Paper Office, London, and the British Museum, illustrating the History of Sir Walter Raleigh's First American Colony and the Colony at Jamestown, in *Transactions* of American Antiquarian Society, 1860.

448 **Hayes, Edward.** SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S VOYAGE TO NEWFOUNDLAND, in *Old South Leaflets* (155), vol. 5, No. 118, pp. 349–380. Hayes was the commander of one of the vessels.

449 **Henry, William W.** Sir Walter Ralegh, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 3, chap. 4.

450 **Hume, Martin A. S.** Sir Walter Ralegh; the British Dominion of the West. London, 1897.

451 **Lane, Ralph.** Raleigh's First Roanoke Colony, in *Old South Leaflets* (155), vol. 5, No. 119, p. 381.

452 **Ralegh, Sir Walter.** Expedition to El Dorado, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 96.

453 Raleigh's Poetry and Life, in *Quarterly Review*, vol. 168 (1889), p. 482.

454 **Stebbing, W.** Sir Walter Ralegh. Oxford, 1891.

455 **Tarbox, Increase N.** Sir Walter Ralegh and his Colony in America. Boston, 1854. A Prince Society *Publication*.

456 **Weeks, Stephen B.** The Lost Colony of Roanoke; Its Fate and Survivals, in *Papers* of the American Historical Association, vol. 5(1890), p. 441.

457 **Whipple, Edwin P.** Sidney and Ralegh, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 22(1868), p. 304.

458 **Williams, Talcott.** The Surroundings of the Site of Ralegh's Colony, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1895, p. 47.

GENERAL

See sections **10, 58, 108, 109, 146, 176, 192, 200, 235, 246, 267, 400.**

459 **Bourne, Henry R. F.** English Seamen under the Tudors (London, 1868, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 7; vol. 2, chaps. 12, 13.

460 Calendar of State Papers (English), Colonial Series, 1574–1660, p. 4. Although but ten papers prior to the accession of James I. in 1603 are calendared in this volume (and forty-seven in an appendix to the fourth volume), they are included in this list as they constitute the introduction to the richest and most authentic source of our information concerning the early history of the English colonies in America.

461 **Christy, Miller.** The Silver Map of the World. London, 1900.

462 **Creighton, Mandell.** Age of Elizabeth (New York, 1876), pp. 167–200.

463 **Creighton, Mandell.** Queen Elizabeth. New York and Bombay, 1899.

464 **Fiske, John.** Virginia in the Colonial Period, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 65(1883), p. 895.

465 **Fiske, John.** Old Virginia and her Neighbours (Boston and New York, 1898, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 1.

466 **Frith, Henry.** Romance of Navigation (London, 1893), pp. 203–249.

467 **Froude, James A.** English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century. New York, 1895.

468 **Froude, James A.** History of England (New York, 1868–70, 12 vols.), vol. 11, pp. 94, 369–403, 441.

469 **Hakluyt, Richard.** Discourse on Western Planting, 1584, in *Collections* of the Maine Historical Society, vol. 2 (Documentary History). Two chapters relating to *England's Title to North America*, and accompanied by a sketch of the author, are given in *Old South Leaflets* (**155**), vol. 5, No. 122, pp. 437–452. Robertson speaks of Hakluyt as one "to whom England is more indebted for its American possessions than to any other man of that age." See section **109**.

470 **Higginson, Thomas W.** The Old English Seamen, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 66(1883), p. 217.

471 **Kingsley, Charles.** Westward Ho! London, 1855, 3 vols., and numerous American reprints. There is an interesting review of this interesting novel in *North American Review*, vol. 81 (1855), p. 289.

472 **Payne, Edward J.**, editor. Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen. London, 1880, 2 vols. See section **109**.

473 **Purves, D. Laing,** editor. English Circumnavigators. New York, no date.

474 **Southey, Robert.** Lives of the British Admirals (London, 1833–40, 5 vols.), vol. 3, pp. 67–327.

475 **Stevens, Henry.** Thomas Hariot, the Mathematician, the Philosopher and the Scholar. London, 1900, 2 vols.

476 **Thomas, Cyrus.** Right to the Soil dependent on Discovery, in eighteenth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1900), pp. 527–538.

477 **Winsor, Justin.** Earliest English Publications on America, in Winsor's *America* (**38**), vol. 3, pp. 199–208.

Note. — See P. Lee Phillips's *List of Books relating to America in the Register of the London Company of Stationers, from 1562 to 1638*, which is printed in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1896, vol. 1, pp. 1249–1261. Also see his *List of Maps of America in the Library of Congress*, Washington, 1901.

CHAPTER XXII — THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

Note. — See the note on page 373, and sections **7, 25, 29, 55, 83, 124, 200, 246, 267.**

478 **Brinton, Daniel G.** The American Race. New York, 1891.

479 **Brooks, E. S.** The Story of the American Indians. Boston, 1887.

480 **Campbell, John.** The Ancient Literature of America, in *Proceedings* of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. 2(1896), sec. 2, p. 41; vol. 3(1897), sec. 2, p. 111.

481 **Catlin, George.** North American Indians. London, 1876, 2 vols.

482 **Colden, Cadwallader.** A History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada [i.e., the Iroquois]. London, 1727. Reprinted at New York, 1866 and 1902.

483 **Drake, Samuel G.** The Aboriginal Races of North America. Revised by H. L. Williams. New York, 1880.

484 **Ellis, George E.** The Red Man and the White Man in North America. Boston, 1882.

485 **Ellis, George E.** The Red Indian of North America, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 1, chap. 5.

486 **Fiske, John.** Myths and Mythmakers (Boston, 1873), chap. 7.

487 **Frazer, J. G.** Origin of Totemism, in *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 71(1899), pp. 648, 835.

488 **Goodwin, John A.** The Pilgrim Republic (Boston, 1888), chap. 10.

489 **Irving, J. T.** Indian Sketches. New York and London, 1888.

490 **Jackson, Helen Hunt.** A Century of Dishonor. Boston, 1885.

491 **James, J. A.** English Institutions and the American Indian, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, series 12, pp. 461–519.

492 **Lechford, Thomas.** An Account of the New England Indians (1642), in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 318.

493 **McKenny, Thomas L.** History of the Indian Tribes of North America. Philadelphia, 1885, 3 vols.

494 **Morgan, Lewis H.** Ancient Society (New York, 1877), pp. 62–215.

495 **Morgan, Lewis H.** Contributions to American Ethnology. Washington, 1881.

496 **Morgan, Lewis H.** Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines, in *Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, vol. 4. Washington, 1881.

497 **Morgan, Lewis H.** League of the Iroquois. Rochester, 1851.

498 **Morton, Thomas.** Manners and Customs of the Indians (an extract from his *New English Canaan*, 1637), in *Old South Leaflets* (155), No. 87.

499 **Parkman, Francis.** The Conspiracy of Pontiac (Boston, 1870, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 1.

500 **Parkman, Francis.** The Jesuits in North America (Boston, 1867), introduction.

501 **Royce, Charles C.** Spanish, French, and English Policy

TOWARD THE INDIANS, in eighteenth *Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1900), pp. 538–561.

502 **Shaler, Nathaniel S.** THE PHYSIOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICA, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 4, pp. i–x.

503 **Stone, William L.** BORDER WARS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. New York, 1854.

504 **Stone, William L.** LIFE OF BRANT. Albany, 1865, 2 vols.

505 **Stone, William L.** LIFE OF RED JACKET. Albany, 1866.

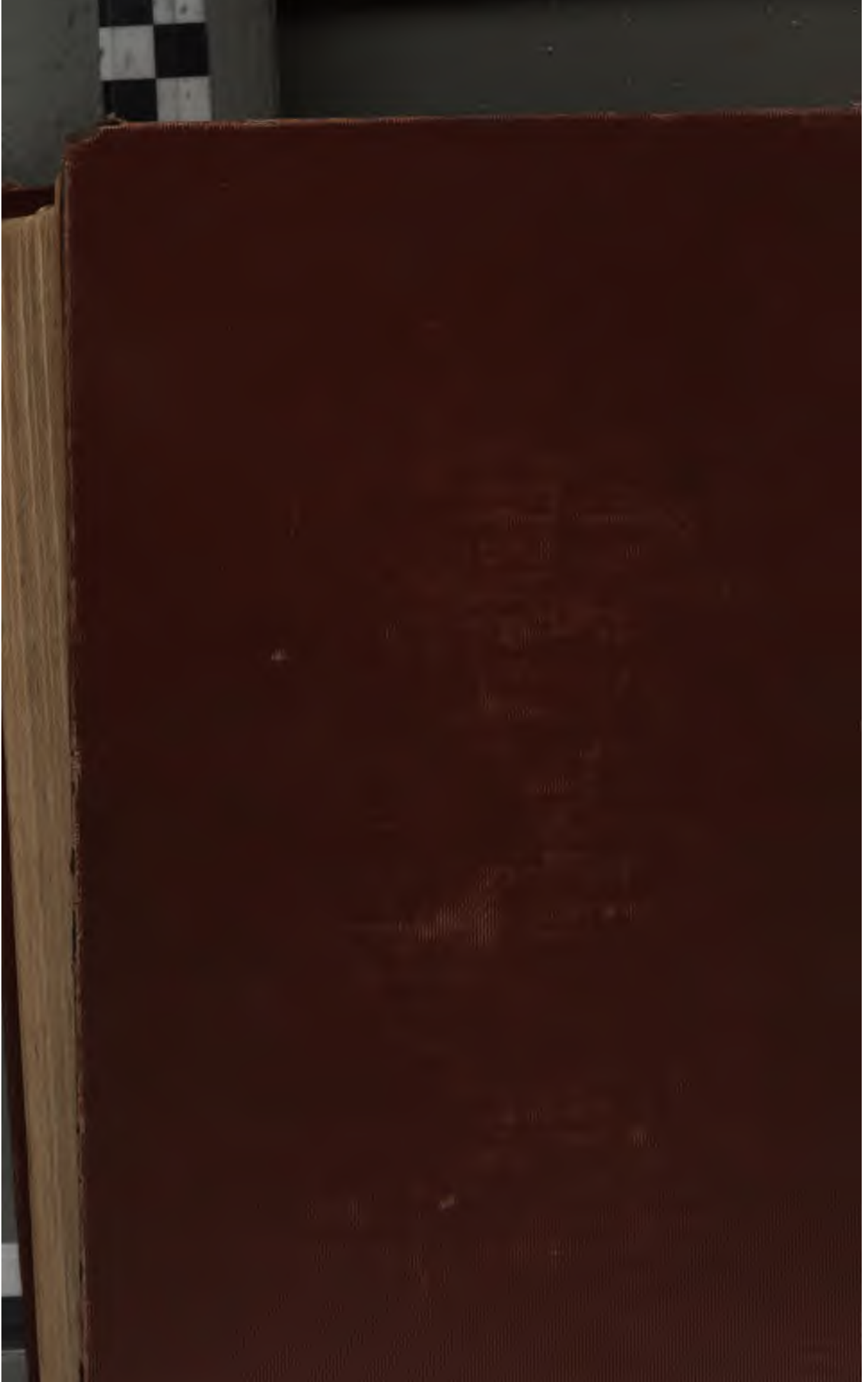
506 **Strachey, William.** THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTH (1618), in Hart's *Contemporaries* (145), vol. 1, p. 203.

507 **Thwaites, Reuben G.**, editor. THE JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS. Cleveland, 1896–1901. A monumental work in 73 vols.

508 UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, REPORTS OF.

509 **Winsor, Justin.** PROGRESS OF OPINION RESPECTING THE ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN AMERICA, in Winsor's *America* (38), vol. 1, p. 369.

For the general index to this work
see volume 12

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
Stanford, California

3 6105 019 985 055
STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD AUXILIARY LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(650) 723-9201
salcirc@sulmail.stanford.edu
All books are subject to recall.
DATE DUE
JUN 3 0 2000
MAY 2 5 2000